PUBLIC

AND

PRIVATE ECONOMY.

ILLUSTRATED BY OBSERVATIONS MADE IN ENGLAND IN THE YEAR 1836.

BY THEODORE SEDGWICK.

PART SECOND.

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PREFACE.

HAVING, during the summer of 1836, in company with a friend, made a voyage to England for the benefit of medical advice to him, and thence a short excursion to France, I have determined to make my journey a vehicle for observations on "*Public and Private Economy*," which will constitute the second part of my work. I am fully aware how very limited my means of information have been in so short a time in those countries. It must be admitted, however, that important knowledge even in so brief a period may be gained. I shall mainly confine myself to those facts which in essentials are too well known to be called in question; and, as to all minor circumstances, shall most scrupulously endeavour to relate them in such a way as not to mislead the reader.

Any one who reads what I have written, and observes the course of my inquiries abroad, will see that I have particularly endeavoured, by plainness and simplicity, to make them useful to the general mass of American citizens. These subjects have

usually been treated in such a way as to be thought great mysteries. Certainly they are not; on the contrary, they are as clear to the comprehension of a common labouring man, if plainly treated, as most other topics. The common people have not yet been called to think upon these subjects, but it is high time that they should be.

The present economy of the United States is one thing, and that of Europe is another; at the same time, the great interests of men are the same, because everywhere the people are interested in producing all the property they can, and in doing all the good with it they can, and this is the sum and substance of *public and private* economy. As to the use of property, though generally left entirely out of sight, it is not the least important branch of the subject; for the more good people have it in their hearts to do with their property, the more industrious, ingenious, and animated they are in obtaining it. Economy, therefore, belongs to a man's *duties*.

The labouring man of the United States who may read this book must determine whether I have true ideas of *American* economy, and he will not ask whether I have written according to the authority of this or that great man.

The moment that we of the United States touch

the shores of Europe, we are astonished at the small number of people that have property or hope for it; on the contrary, the people of Europe are astonished here at the great number proportionably that have it, and they see scarcely any without the hope of it. Here lies the wonderful secret of the property-getting power of the people of the United States! All, as a general rule, may obtain property here. This plainly accounts for the prodigious increase of our wealth compared with other nations. Though all can obtain, all do not use it wisely. It is, therefore, the childish, selfish, pernicious use of property which we see in Europe that I have insisted upon so much in this book. An inevitable result of the *privileged system!* The universal, pervading hope among us of property and consideration has given a new character to the people of the United States never known among men, and which the people of Europe cannot understand. *We* cannot believe that the good Being who created this beautitul world designed it mainly for a few favoured thousands.

It is reserved for the people of the United States to carry into practice those principles of equality which they have avowed. But they must first learn the true, religious, unprivileged use of property. It is this godlike plan of conducting towards our fellow-man, so as to make him a sharer in the boun-

ties of Heaven, that will lead the people of the United States to that glory which is designed for them.

One who has seen that great country England cannot but desire that our ancient animosities should be forgotten for ever. In speaking, therefore, very freely of its customs and institutions, I cannot be suspected of ill will. The cause of reform, the true cause of the people in both countries, the interests of humanity, of civilization, of the poor, the unfortunate, the oppressed, depend more upon the continuance of hearty good-will between these two great nations than upon any other circumstance. Causeless war would be to all except a very few, usurers, speculators, spendthrifts, job-seekers, office-holders, contractors, the curse of curses.

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CHAPTER I.

Sec. 1. I left home in May, 1836, accompanied by a labouring man, whom I hired to attend me as far as the Hudson River. We ascended the Nobletown Mountain; and when we had arrived at the summit, which overlooks the broad and beautiful valley that lies between it and the Hudson, he exclaimed, "Heavens, how much land and property, and I have none. What is the reason?" This is an important question to millions in his situation. The inquiry, then, is, why is there so *unequal a distribution?* Is there any good reason, in fact and nature, why a few should possess nearly all the property of the world, doing with it as they choose, leaving to the multitude so little comfort and enjoyment? And there is another inquiry still more important. Why is so little property created or produced, when we know that the earth, with the materials that come from it, might yield a hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand times (we cannot say how much) more than they do at present? Why, then, is there so little property to distribute compared with what there might be?

2. In the first part of this work, the twelfth chapter is on the causes of *poverty*, where some are stated. In this second part, I shall endeavour to illustrate those causes by a reference to such facts as came within my observation, the most important of which are indisputable.

3. In taking passages in the ship St. James, at New-York, for London, for myself and friend, I was required by Messrs. Grinnell & Minturn, the packet agents, to pay one hundred and forty dollars for each, and told that this sum included compensation for *liquors*. To paying for liquors for my friend I objected, on the ground that, as an invalid, he drank none. The answer was, that that made no difference; that the rule was inflexible; that the packets had tried the other plan, but that it had been found very *inconvenient*, and that the passengers even were opposed to it.

4. Travelling has become, to great numbers in the United States, so great a source of pleasure and instruction, that it behooves them to regulate it upon the best principles. In former days it was enjoyed by a few rich people only; now the case is altered; at home and abroad it may have increased in a hundred years a hundred or a thousand fold. It has become one of the refined pleasures of a more civilized age; as an amusement, with many it has taken the place of vicious sports and barbarous modes of wasting property. As a remedy for the invalid, the wisest physicians prescribe it when all others fail; and we know that, in a change of society, exercise,

air, climate, scenery, however inexplicable it may be, new life is given to the constitution.

5. People are not aware, generally, how important travelling is in affording a living to great numbers of labouring people. The more that can travel, the better, if there be an adequate object. Allowing that there are fifteen millions of people in the United States, and that, upon an average, they spend, one with another, in travelling at *home*, five dollars a year, we have seventy-five millions of dollars in this one mode of distributing property! And who get the money? Farmers for their produce, mechanics, servants in public houses, railroad men, &c., &c. Travelling also becomes the cause of good roads, good inns, ships, &c.; or, if you please, good roads, inns, ships, promote travelling. They are at once cause and effect.

It is in the United States only that farmers who work with their hands, common people, people in middling circumstances, travel, or can afford to travel, to any extent. If there be abuses, then, in the public conveyances, by far the greater number of people are interested in putting them down. A public abuse in the United States ought to be abated as a public nuisance.

6. In the sum I have mentioned of one hundred and forty dollars, there being no exemption as to paying for liquors, all must pay alike; invalids, ladies, boys over fourteen years of age, and all those who belong to the temperance societies. This is equally against decency and the common usages of

the country, in packets, steamboats, inns, lodging-houses, &c.

7. There are unanswerable moral objections to this practice. As the expense falls upon all alike, there arises, of course, with most, a strong temptation to get their share of what they must pay for. This leads to intemperate drinking. Few who have not witnessed what some people in the garb of gentlemen drink upon these occasions would credit the truth if told. With some a voyage is little better than a long carouse of thirty or forty days. I have been told, and believe it to be true, that a party of Englishmen drank in one of these voyages six bottles each upon an average daily, including liquors of all kinds, cider, beer, porter, wine, brandy, &c.

It must be remembered that youth of all ages travel in these packets; young men just beginning business, and going out as agents, clerks, &c., who are, of course, liable to these excesses. So absurd are these packets in their extravagance, and so far beyond those indulgences in which even the richest generally allow themselves, that they have upon their tables daily Madeira, sherry, port, claret, German wines, beer, cider, porter, and, several times in the week, Champagne without limit. In this way wine and all other liquors flow as profusely as water for all, young and old, rich and poor, and for some who never in their lives drank a bottle of Champagne before.

8. *Women* also travel in these packets, often helpless women, no doubt, who have had their full share of this world's poverty and misery. What a gross

injustice and indelicacy to force this liquor bill upon the most helpless and needy! Many a delicate lady does not participate in these liquors to the amount of a dollar in a whole passage. People who guzzle the whole way ought to be ashamed of such a robbery! Any man of right feelings who will think of it for a moment will see that the practice is inexcusable.

The hardest of all cases is that of the invalid. He who travels to save life, perhaps for the benefit of a helpless wife and children, must pay not less, probably, than fifty dollars, out and in, towards this very *just taxation.*

But let us hear what the owners allege. They say that what we propose has been tried in the New-York packets, and that the passengers objected to the change so strenuously that they were compelled to give it up; that the making a distinction between those who drink and those who do not is inconvenient, &c. Who are those that objected to the change? The truth lies here.

A large portion of those who pass over in these packets are either rich and fashionable people from the cities, who travel in foreign countries; or, what is more common, English and American merchants, agents, &c., who make frequent voyages.

A considerable portion of these are very young men, whose example and opinion in such a matter are entitled to little weight. Be that as it may, the persons mentioned give the tone and set the fashion. Many of these are such good customers that the

captains and proprietors feel bound to consult their wishes. And what are their wishes? Why, certainly, with their habits as to drinking on board ship, this equitable assessment upon the *whole* is very *convenient*. As it only takes about a dozen of Champagne to make up the sum of twenty-five dollars, which all, including women, invalids, boys, &c., must pay for liquors upon the present plan, it is no wonder that any change should be objected to, and particularly by the captains and owners; for if the plan should be altered, it is probable that not a fourth part of the liquors now drunk would, in that case, be consumed.

No one who has beheld the admirable order, neatness, general propriety, and comfort that prevail on board some of these ships (*not in all alike, however, by any means*); the wonderful assiduity with which they are sailed; the gentlemanly character of the captains; the sober and steady behaviour of the crews; and who, at the same time, has a just pride in all the important establishments of the country, can fail to wish abolished a practice so odious and unjust towards the poorer members of the community; so uneconomical in a country where all, or nearly all, must work for a living; so liable to abuse by young people and so offensive to temperance. The people of the United States will sooner or later be compelled to see that these magnificent ways of eating, drinking, and wasting their property were not designed for them.*

* The substance of these observations was inserted in a New-York paper after the author's return.

9. The happiness of the people of the United States greatly depends upon the *cheapness of things of general enjoyment.* Let it be remembered that these are *American* packets; that it is not all gold that glitters in this country; that poor as well as rich people go as cabin passengers. Great and unnecessary dearness in things of common enjoyment arising from our sensual and selfish modes of living, is like a curse that blasts the common fruits and grain upon which all subsist. Instead, therefore, of contriving travelling establishments as showy, luxurious, and dear as possible, the first aim should be simplicity, economy, and comfort; not that it is expected that all should or can spend the same money upon these common enjoyments. As a general rule in steamboats, packets, hotels, &c., the charge to each will be in proportion to the expense of building, furnishing them, &c. In these packets we have cabins fitted up like palaces, three or four thousand dollars being expended upon them (upon many, more) in ornamental rosewood and mahogany work, &c. How many gentlemen in the United States can or do afford such expense even in their own private apartments? The interest of this money must be paid yearly, and every passenger must contribute his proportion. At best, the packets are very expensive ships, costing, upon an average, not less than about fifty thousand dollars. Several of them have cost much more.

We make a superb outside show with feathers, flounces, and fine colours, leaving behind the weight-

ier matters of respectable living; we begin at the wrong end, with magnificence instead of comfort, with Champagne when very many of us can only afford beer, water, or cider. There is not, after all, a very great proportion of the cabin passengers, if they were brought to the truth, who would like to say that it was quite convenient to them to pay even their proportion of the expenses of this "splendid," gorgeous carving, panelling, and gilding. No man can go to Europe without seeing that the wisest part of the people there are looking very sharply at the Western World, and for examples, wherever they can find them, for their own improvement. They laugh at us, as well they may, when they see so many of our peacock feathers draggling along in the dirt and mud. It must be confessed that, with bilge water below and seasickness in the cabin and on deck, a ship makes but a poor figure dressed out as for an opera!

But, after all, these are small considerations compared with the exclusion from a republican country of a base counterfeit imitation of aristocratic taste, and of the introduction into it of a purer and holier, consisting of such a way of spending our money as shall at once do good to ourselves and our fellow-citizens. There is a meanness and selfishness in making wealth merely instrumental to personal glory and elevation that is unworthy our origin and deeds, and that is every day proving the old truth, that "pride will have a fall."

10. But what would we have in preference to this

exquisite carving, gilding, and panelling, as it seems we cannot pay for both?

First, clean servants, a feature in English civilization so beautiful and interesting to the traveller! The elegant cabins and luxurious wines afford a poor contrast to the filthy servants whom we sometimes see about the cabins, and even tables, in greasy jackets and tattered shirts that are worn half a voyage. But the captains do not make the servants; they cannot make their waiters decent and cleanly. Yes, they can; and how? By paying proper wages for cleanly waiters; for any quality of men may be had for proper pay for any service. When these ships are in port they are dressed as for a Sunday, in Brussels carpets and silk curtains; but one would think it better to dress the servants decently than the ship luxuriously, if both expenses cannot be afforded, for the servant can suffer from his own disgusting appearance, but the ship is not sensible to her honours; he is a man and a fellow-man. He should be hired upon a strict contract that he will provide himself with clothes suited to his employment; and if things are at all rightly regulated, his wages will be in proportion to this additional expense; and so they should be. Nothing degrades men more in their own estimation than mean and filthy garments; and there are few points of superiority in English civilization to that of the United States more striking than this of wearing appropriate clothing. In every country it is best for all parties that every man should get all the wages he can by

his exertions, let people say what they will about making cheap goods by means of poor wages. If servants' wages are high, so much the better; we shall finally teach them to spend their money wisely; and then we shall have the less Champagne to throw out of half-empty bottles in our drunken frolics, lest the servants, after we have left the table, should get drunk also.

Many, to a certain extent, and to a great extent, may regulate their own wages; but, to do this, their habits, manners, persons, and services must correspond with the increased wages which they demand. There is no more justice or propriety in paying all servants alike than all physicians and lawyers alike. None are so much interested in substituting a better taste, in getting rid of this superlative finery, as servants and all descriptions of working people. The more money that is wasted or misapplied, be it public or private, the worse for them. The rich can bear the waste.

11. There are other things in this packet service that we all ought to be willing to pay for, and one is a *clean ship*. A ship at best, to many people, is little better than a jail; the unavoidable privations are so great at sea, that few things are more revolting to most people, and certainly to a seasick man, than a *dirty* ship. To see collections of dirt under the tables and in the corners of the staterooms, which are sometimes not removed for weeks; tablecloths spread day after day besmeared with gravies, sauces,

and overturned glasses of ale, wine, and porter, is enough to send a man out of the cabin sick or well. Let the ships, then, provide themselves with a sufficient supply of table furniture to enable them to spread a clean cloth every day; with pure water, which in some ships we have not, but which, with the aid of proper filters, may be had; with conveniences for bathing, so important to health, which all the packets ought to have; for there is no doubt that perfect cleanliness of the person on board ship would not only greatly mitigate the evils of seasickness, but add to the benefits of a sea voyage. These are some of the substantial comforts and respectable things which we sacrifice for shadows; for "splendour" and dainties!

12. There are other things that require amendment. The dainties and profusion that abound on our tables in these packets are a disgrace to a republican people. Let other people spend as they will, but let us live according to reason and nature; for, till then, we shall never know how much property and how many comforts all may have, and to what extent we can remove poverty from the world.

It is for the interest of the captains and owners to induce the passengers to drink all they can and eat all they can; the more extravagantly the ship is supplied, the better for them, for more profit is made upon a large than a small supply. On board of these ships, where strong and robust men are cooped up for thirty or forty days without exercise, and where simplicity of diet should reign, if ever, every

allurement is held out to gluttony, for every dinner is a feast. We have upon our tables not only all the usual viands, but all the ornamental cookery in jellies, whips, &c., that can be got up in the galley, which is a kitchen not more than eight or ten feet square. And who are these passengers? We know who they are.

There is an odd mixture, to be sure, and among them a goodly number to whom this magnificent profusion must present an odd contrast to their daily and more healthful simplicity at home. In addition to our eating twice as much as we ought on board of these packets, we eat twice as often, for we have *four* substantial meals. We breakfast at nine, and at twelve there is a lunch, when there is spread a round of beef, slices of ham, tongue, bread and butter, potted herrings, sardines, &c., or other articles as substantial and seductive. Then comes dinner, and after that tea and coffee, with cold meats, &c. For all this we pay (with the exception of the price of transportation) one hundred and forty dollars over, and one hundred and seventy-five back, which, allowing twenty-two days for the one passage and thirty-four for the other, is equal to about six dollars and a third per day for eating and drinking one way, and a little more than five the other. Nothing reconciles us to such a wanton waste of our property but a long-continued abuse of reason, judgment, and conscience; for there can be no doubt that, with more simplicity and a juster taste, the sublime pleasures of a voyage, and the

pure enjoyment of seeing Europe, with all its glories and beauties, might be obtained for one half or two thirds of the money that it costs at present, and with still greater comfort. The reader must decide whether this kind of economy is worth contending for. Of course, it is only a question as to one kind of economy or another, for it is certain that we shall "make trade flourish and our money stir," if we have money; if one description of labourer does not get it, another will. Ten people might visit Europe to one now, if it were not for these vulgar expenses. So the rich and luxurious spend and live, and so we think we all must; and then we cry out that a collar has been put about our necks, and that it chafes, when the fact is, that we are the most extraordinarily willing vassals that ever have been heard of in the world. Let me not be understood as saying that this disgraceful waste of property in drinking and gormandizing is peculiar to the packets; far from it.

With exceptions like these, the packet service is highly honourable to the country. The ship St. James was one of the best-regulated establishments I ever saw of any kind, and for this we were indebted mainly to the admirable character of the principal officers. I never but once during the whole voyage heard a vulgar word from officers or men, not even from sailors to sailors. The comfort of such propriety is inexpressible to the passengers. The quiet, subdued tone in which commands were given seemed contagious among the

men; all partook of the same spirit, all were made happy by it.

13. "*No grog*" stood at the head of the shipping articles of this ship; and, though small portions are sometimes smuggled by the men into their chests, they are afraid and ashamed to open them to get at the contraband article. I often talked with the men on board of this ship, and could never perceive from their breath that they had been drinking. Still the captain informed us that he suffered the mate to bring on board a small quantity of liquor, to be given upon emergencies. As soon as the common sailors can be made to respect themselves as they did on board of this ship, there will be an end of half their vice and misery. Temperance, as Lord Mansfield said of obedience in a soldier, should be the first, second, and third law of a ship.*

No officer of a ship ought to be indulged in the habit of drinking ardent spirits, and the less he takes of any spirituous liquors the better. If the officers drink, the men will drink; the contagion of

* As I shall often have occasion to speak of the subject of temperance in such a manner as may imply that I am a member of a temperance society, it is proper that I should state that I am not. I can say, however, that my habits of abstinence have long been such, that I should not for a moment be deterred from taking the pledge by any sacrifice it would cost. While, therefore, I have the greatest respect for the conscientiousness of those who take the pledge as an example to others; and while I believe that it is indispensable to the safety of many, I must claim the same indulgence of opinion towards myself in not taking it. The temperance societies have proved a great blessing in the U. States.

the example is too much for them, and why should they not do what their superiors do? If the captain is in the habit of indulgence, the passengers may rely upon it that the mate and inferior officers will sneak down the companion-way at sunrise in the morning, or at some other time, to get at the brandy bottle in the pantry, through the connivance of the steward or servants.

The inferior officers in our ship had nearly the whole responsibility of sailing her when off soundings. The head of the man who has charge of a ship should be as steady as the planets by which it is directed. Men who are placed in responsible business situations ought not to be tolerated in a practice of drinking spirituous liquors of any kind; it is ruinous to all parties concerned; no man can tell when he is safe in the hands of these people; they are generally either in a fog or a gale, and there can be no doubt that a large portion of the losses that are sustained by sea and land, by the overturning of stage coaches, the burning of ships, &c., proceeds from this cause. There is nothing that the owners of these ships can do that will gratify the public so much, or redound more to their honour and advantage, than by putting "no grog" at the head of their shipping articles. A sailor at sea, generally, is no more to be trusted with ardent spirts, than children are with gunpowder. Every temperance ship that carries passengers ought to publish in the papers in the principal towns under what sort of colours she sails. The people of the

United States have begun a temperance reform, the greatest of all reforms, and such as, to the same extent, was never dreamed of in the world; and under God they will carry it on in spite of all opposition. Some people talk of a reaction; there is no reaction; they do not know the facts; they think that the slow progress, slow by comparison, which temperance has made in the cities, or that some little dramshop, or depraved village which they happen to know, shows the condition of the nation.

14. The pilot who took us outside of the Hook was habited in an entire suit of *black*, with a white hat, and still his business was to navigate a little schooner drenched with water from morning to night; a costume about as appropriate as wigs for the coachmen whom I afterward saw in St. James's-street, coming from the queen's drawing-room. It is a pity that the American people should not be able to get rid of the enormous expense which they put themselves to in the mere foppery of dress, when there are so many other things besides trappings for which they are distinguished. Oh, the millions, the millions that we spend, not for good, substantial, graceful garments suited to our condition and means, but for some trumpery or finery, or things outré, inappropriate, and out of proportion.

15. On the 7th day of June, 1836, we arrived off the Bill of Portland and took a pilot. His boat presented a singular contrast to our pilot schooners. This pilotboat was a sloop-rigged vessel, and built like a tub, being about thirty tons burden. In a

conversation with the pilot, he said, "we are all licensed by 'the Trinity,'" meaning "the Trinity House." Here is a fine instance of the infection of example; because the Trinity House appoints pilots, the governor and senate of New-York must do the same!*

This pilot told us that the pilots in England were obliged to serve seven years as apprentices, three as masters, and then they become pilots of the second class, who are allowed to take charge of vessels of only seventeen feet water. After that, according as they have luck and influence, they become pilots of the first class, who take charge of any vessels. This man presented an odd contrast to our American pilot! He was dressed in a coarse roundabout, blue trousers, a tarred hat, and shoes to match. The people of England, notwithstanding the horrible burdens of taxation under which they lie, and the cruel expenses to which they are annually put to support kingly and aristocratic ostentation, are far better and more appropriately dressed, with some exceptions which I shall mention, than the people of the United States; I mean, of course, as far as I could in so short a time observe.

16. I asked our pilot (7th June) whether strawberries were ripe. "Oh no, sir." "When will they be ripe?" said I. "In August or September," replied the pilot. "Strawberries, strawberrries!" I rejoined, in order to avoid the possibility of mis-

* The law has since been altered.

take. "Yes, sir, they come about the time that *nuts* do, in August or September." This is an instance of what my subsequent experience furnished the proof, that the poor people of England know little about the fruits generally; they cannot know, for they do not eat them; they do not eat them, for they cannot buy them; they cannot buy them, because they are too *dear*. Oh the curse of unnecessary dearness to the great body of the people! The fruits, which are at once the most healthful and the most delicious food, are, with the exception of the most common, eaten almost exclusively in England by the great and rich. This subject of cheap and dear is one of the greatest importance to us, and I shall endeavour to illustrate it in every way I can. As the people of the United States are now doing what other nations have done hundreds or thousands of years ago, that is, establishing their own principles of public and private economy, it is of the greatest importance that they should make as few mistakes as possible.

17. We were told that the common wages of the mates on board of these ships was thirty-five dollars per month, but that our mate on board the St. James had forty. This was a poor compensation for a man so estimable, faithful, and intelligent, and out of all just proportion compared with many other services. If things were regulated as they should be, and as they will be some day in the United States, the owners would be compelled to spare a little of the expense now put upon the exquisite carving and

gilding of the cabins, and a little from the sumptuous entertainments that stupify the senses of the passengers, and make them forget the faithful men on deck; and then a portion at least of this little would go to increase the just rewards of some of the best of labourers. Before this can take place, however, the labourers must understand their interests better than they now do.

They must give a right direction to all the property of the country, whether it belong to rich or poor; by showing the vain, luxurious people, by their own example, what a noble use may be made of property; that it is more to the purpose for any man to get a good dinner than to eat one from a silver plate with a silver fork; to this end they must first begin at home, throw their hidden liquor jugs overboard, and then join the temperance societies or the *temperate people*. This is the true road to good wages.

18. The common sailors! What a strange thing is this which we call civilization! Where should we find the Rothchilds; the Girards; the Astors; the four-story granite and marble houses; the sumptuous dinners; the splendid midnight parties; the gorgeous furniture; the rich equipage of the opulent merchants, without the services of these faithful sailors! The common sailors on board the St. James and the St. Andrew received fifteen dollars per month (1836), and the same in 1835. When we find so much improvement in other things, it is pleasing to be able to state that the character of the

common sailors also has improved; and this, we were told, was owing to *their better treatment.* In this there is no great mystery, certainly, for it seems that the sailor has a heart as well as another man. The captain told us on board the St. James that, when he first sailed out of New-York, the sailors had no small stores allowed them, such as tea, coffee, sugar, &c., but that these were now furnished even in the merchant ships; that in Boston, however, they did even formerly allow small stores to the sailors. Now the sailors have many vegetables, such as we have in the cabin. In the St. James they had cocoa every morning; pudding twice a week: on board the St. Andrew they had a sort of broth every day for breakfast, beef and pork for dinner, at evening tea, and twice a week after dinner a pudding called "duff," composed of flour and suet. I do not mean, however, to say that these were all the articles of food which the men had on board of these ships. I had a great deal of conversation with the hands on board of the St. Andrew, and, without an exception, they never failed to express gratitude for their treatment, nor to draw the necessary contrasts between their condition in the packets and in the common merchant ships.

19. Without being able to say exactly what the fare of these hard-working men should be, it is plain that good substantial food, with a sufficient variety for health, strength, and a reasonable enjoyment, is their due. This world is so capable of abundance, that every hard-working man should

have something to thank God for every day of his life. That the fare of these sailors at present is pretty *plain* is *plain* enough, and if the captains and owners would transfer a little of their moderation to the cabins, so much the better; a little fasting there with the feasting would probably be as well for all parties.

20. *Wages.* The following statement is made in part first, chapter second, section twenty-five, in regard to wages.

"*Wages*, also, is a great subject in political economy. None, certainly, can be more important to men who work with their hands; none has been treated of more largely by political economists.

"This may be said to be one of the first principles in regard to wages, *that the rate of wages depends upon the number of labourers compared with the business to be done.* Labour is bought and sold like other articles: if there be a great deal of it compared with what is wanted, it will be cheap; if little, it will be dear. The farmers here can understand this principle perfectly, when they see that, if there were no emigration of labourers to Ohio, Michigan, &c., there would be more labourers and cheaper wages; and that, if there were half a dozen more blacksmiths in every town, there would then be too many for the work to be done, and, of course, that the wages of blacksmiths must fall as long as this state of things should continue. So, also, every mechanic and manufacturer can see the same thing who knows that wages in his line would fall, in con-

sequence of the influx of foreigners, if the mechanic and manufacturing business did not increase in about the same proportion with this influx; summer, winter, and harvest wages, also, exemplify the same truth. In winter, with us, we have the same number of labourers, or nearly so, as in summer; but there is less work to be done, and, of course, wages are lower; in harvest there is more work to be done than in the other seasons, but the labourers are not in proportion, and, therefore, harvest wages are the best in the year. These truths can never be mysteries to men of business: so far from not being intelligible to labouring people, they are prepared, by their previous habits of mind, in many most important respects, to understand them better than scholars, statesmen, and professed writers. Truth, upon these subjects, is a deduction from the facts which we witness in our daily business; it, therefore, does not require what is called a scholar or philosopher to understand them; on the contrary, it is a great delusion to suppose that most of our common people cannot comprehend them. The main difficulty at present is, that our books are not written for the common people, but exclusively for scholars, gentlemen, philosophers, and statesmen."

21. There is another important rule as to wages; that is, they are regulated, in a great measure, by the intelligence, education, good conduct, and independent condition of the labourers. This state of things has ever existed between the employer and

the employed; that is, the employer desires to get wages as cheap as he can, and the employed to get as much as he can. This competition, then, is always going on. But here is the difference: the employer is a man of property; he is a capitalist; he can let his ship or his mill lie idle a while, if necessary, as we know now (1837) to be the case in consequence of the money distress in the country.

Therefore, when things get to the worst, and the parties fall out, the owner lays up his ship and the manufacturer stops his mill, till the labourer can be brought to terms, which, generally, is quickly done; for the labourer has nothing; he has laid up nothing, not even the means of living for a month, and it follows that he is little better than a slave. He is compelled to strike his colours, and this is the condition of the common sailor, whose situation, as to wages, illustrates fully some of the most important parts of the subject of wages. No class of men scarcely is more destitute than that of the common sailor; it is quite rare to find one of them who has laid up a dollar. Still there is no doubt but that their condition is improving; they already begin to make use of the Savings Banks. I repeatedly asked the men on board of our ship (the St. Andrew) this question: "How many men are there on board of our ship who have laid up any money?" They generally laughed in my face when I asked it. And still their wages are such that, in a very few years (not many of them having wives and children), they might lay up enough for a comfortable independ-

ence for a few years at least. Their clothes, from the nature of their employment, cost little, and at sea they are at no expense. They are so reckless on shore that, after a few days, their pockets are emptied, and they are as much slaves as ever; so that, though just returned from a long voyage, they are compelled, after a week or two, and some of them in a less time, to ship again, even in the depths of winter. In this way they make themselves slaves, and are, in fact, sometimes called so by their masters. They are slaves in a triple sense. Slaves to their mistresses, slaves to their landlords, a set of harpies that keep sailors' boarding houses, who, by seducing them into deep drinking and other destructive expenses, soon rob them of all that they have, and then they become slaves to the owners of the ships.

22. *There is no reason in the nature of things* why the common sailor on board of these ships should earn fifteen dollars only a month, while the captains earn annually three or four thousand, and the owners sometimes many more. But it is said that the owners and captains earn as capitalists, that is, their money invested in the ship earns interest. Yes, they do. But can anybody give any good reason *in the nature of things* why the property of these different classes should be so disproportioned? If the sailors were as careful to lay up their earnings as the captains and owners are to lay up theirs, the proportion would soon be altered; and then the sailors themselves, instead of being

slaves to poor wages, would be capitalists also; small capitalists, if you please. The present enormous disproportion of property, that leads to such a stupid waste of it on the part of so many, is not inevitable; quite the contrary; and it is certain that an economical improvement is constantly going forward. But this inequality, according to our present ideas, is inevitable. We have seen the common labourers in every country worked so much like brutes, that we have supposed this to be the order of Nature; but Nature is a kind mistress, if we will obey her commands and be kind to each other. At present, the great difficulty of the common labourers as to wages is this: there are so many of them that are living from hand to mouth, that they have no option as to wages; they must take what are offered. When a poor sailor has got to the bottom of his purse, his landlord will compel him to ship again, or kick him out of his house, of course.

23. *In the nature of things*, the wages of sailors on board of these ships are not proportioned to their services. In many respects their characters are far more interesting than is generally thought, and their labours are always so.

On land, the common sailor is intoxicated with pleasure and liquor; at sea, without liquor, he shows much of the true dignity of a man. There he is a grave, serious-looking, reflecting person; the grandeur and uncertainty of the scenes about him make him thoughtful. His exact and arduous duties in the midst of tempests, when, if, through

heedlessness, he misses a rope, he may with hundreds be plunged into the fathomless regions of the sea, compel him to think. There is a practice of this kind on board ships, a very good one, and indispensable to safety. The officer gives the command to the man at the helm, and he responds. In hard weather, when lying prostrate with seasickness under the bulwarks, I have heard for half hours together the officer crying out "Luff," when *he*, to show that he understands the word, and that there may be no confusion, answers, "Luff, sir." "Keep her steady;" "Keep her steady, sir," and so on. I never knew the man to miss the word of command, or to neglect to respond to it.

These men are in situations of great responsibility. After our *Champagne days*, when the senses of many of our passengers are steeped in forgetfulness, and both captain and mate have turned in, you may, at the midnight watch, when the stars can no longer be traced, and the ocean is rolling in its glory, see all committed to the vigilance of two of these faithful men, one at the helm, one at the look-out, with an inferior officer, perhaps a mere stripling, silently pacing the deck. At such a moment, lost in gratitude, you forget all that a sailor is on shore.

24. The common sailor lies under great disadvantages; he leaves the paternal roof young and without education; he is then transferred from ship to ship, and never knows home again. He is committed to the charge of that class of men, many of

whom are so coarse and ignorant of all but one kind of human nature, that they despise the wisdom of Nelson and Collingwood, and think that there is but one mode of government, and that this is to be administered with a rope's end. With these opinions of a sailor, of what sort of consequence is it what amount of wages he gets?

After all, there is a consolation. The labouring part of the world is rising; they begin to be economical; they begin to see what all labourers will at last find out, that is, two things: first, that, let the laws be what they may, without economy and a right use of property, nothing can help them; second, that those who have property are equally bound for the good of society to make a right use of it, instead of squandering it upon unmanly and paltry appetites and indulgences. The common people must help themselves; there is no Hercules to lift them out of the mire. The condition of a sailor is in one respect like that of every other man: if he has nothing, he is nothing; he must work or starve, and he must, too, work whenever he is called upon; so that he cannot say to the rich merchant, "Stay a little; you wish to send your ship to sea, and I want better wages, and when you are ready to pay them, I am your man." At present, a great portion of the common labourers are little better than slaves, for the want of a little property; it is but little, but that little they must have to save themselves from chains. It is, then, the want of economy, of foresight, of

temperance, that is one of the great causes of the present bad distribution of property; if we will correct our own follies, we shall soon put government in a good train, for governments are conducted by men. Some people think that they are never learning political economy till some profound principles are announced which are beyond the ken of common men; but, after all, we shall find that the greater part of it is a very common-sense-like affair.

25. *Servants' Wages.* In England they have a practice by which travellers generally pay servants in this way: that is, a shilling to the coachman; the same to the manservant at the hotel; sixpence to the chambermaid, &c., according to circumstances, which I shall mention hereafter. The English practice, so admirably contrived to lower the standard of independence, to degrade the servants by putting them all upon a dead level, has crept into our American ships. In other words, it is the *fashion*, which is as much as to say that it is the law; but there is this difference between this law and many others at least, and that is, that, while some others are made by rich and poor for the benefit of all, this is made by the rich, the fashionable, and by great travellers for their own peculiar benefit.

The matter is managed thus. As we come in sight of the Bill of Portland or the Needles on one side, or the Long Island Lights on the other, some old traveller says to his fellow-passengers, "Gen-

tlemen, it is *customary* in these voyages for the passengers to give the steward a pound (English) each for the benefit of all the servants; whom shall we appoint to collect the money?" To say that it is customary, is only saying that it is the fashion, and fashion in the United States is a grim tyrant; when he orders, every man, woman, and child looks up as they would to a speaking Juggernaut, and, without turning to the right or left, says, "Yes, sir." So we all gather about the collector and pay our pound *alike;* that is, the rich merchant who owns the ship, and half a dozen more; the poor clergyman who is on a voyage for health, and may not be worth a dollar; the young man, a clerk, a mere boy, who goes to England upon a salary of perhaps a hundred pounds, and so on. And then the ladies, rich and poor, and without any reference to the trouble to which one or another has put the servants, pay their pound alike also; though it is no doubt true that some generous people, who have given the servants more trouble than is usual, pay accordingly; but this is in a private way, of course. Now what can be more un-American than this English practice? Why should rich and poor, sick and well, those who give much trouble and those who give little, pay servants alike? And, what is as much to the point, why should servants, good and bad, civil and uncivil, clean and dirty, be *paid alike?* On board of our ship, the St. James, it was said that this money was paid to the steward, and that he divided it into three

equal parts, he taking one, and the other servants the residue; but after what rule I know not, nor do I know that a third was the steward's proportion. The English custom of paying servants alike, without reference to their merit, is to reduce them to one standard of inferiority. There is no more reason why these labourers should receive equal wages than many others. No services can be more unequal; and if they are paid by gratuities, these should be the rewards of civility, temperance, skill, and good conduct. There is nothing that debases the lower classes more than placing the individuals in them upon the same footing in esteem and compensation. Every man should be paid, other things being equal, as far as that be possible, *according to what he earns*, as this gives to every man the best chance of rising according to his merit, which is conformable to all just democratic ideas. The opposite practice is one of the worst of those which prevail in England, where servants seldom rise, compared with what is common in the United States, and where the rule is, once a servant, always a servant.

It is this selfish attempt to counteract the laws of God, who has promised rewards to his creatures according to their merit, that has so long kept the lower orders down, and the world in such a miserable state of poverty. Men will not work in earnest unless hope is for ever brightening their prospects. This is the subservience which some

people so much admire; and which, as they say, makes the best servants, but which, in the end, will be found to be false; for the best men in every class are those who are treated with the greatest justice and humanity. This is according to the everlasting principles of human nature, and not the slavish laws of custom, fashion, pride, in England, in the United States, or in any other country.

26. But there is another consideration in this matter, of which I shall say more when I come to give an account of English servants; and that is, the less they are paid by *gifts*, so much the better, so much the more independence, so much the less subservience in the bad sense of that word, so much the less underbidding for places, so much the better wages in the end. Why should they receive as a favour, with cap in hand, that to which they have a right? American servants must remember that oft-repeated gifts never returned make slaves; that the labourer is worthy of his hire; that his services cannot be dispensed with; and that *wages* are better than *gifts*. But, after all, the grand argument with the stand-still part of the world is, that the English servants are the best in the world, and this is enough for them, they never dreaming, any more than their grandmothers did, that the world is changing. But let them go to England, and then inquire in the parlours or the kitchens, it is all one which, and they will find that the miseries which we so foolishly suffer in the United States from the joint folly of mas-

ters and servants, but the greater folly of masters, for they have the best means of knowing their duties, are beginning there; that discontent and revolt from the principle of injustice I have mentioned are fermenting, and will sooner or later leaven the whole lump. The truth cannot be disguised; the principles of democracy are growing everywhere; by this I do not intend any mean party thing, but the true thing; that kind of government which produces the greatest love for God and man. We have, however, a great deal yet to learn to make it what it should be, and will be.

27. STEERAGE-PASSENGERS. Economy is a virtue of selection; she saves here in order to spend there; she knows that a man cannot have everything, she therefore chooses the best. Economy is not mean and miserly, saving everything, and starving herself; she does not think it necessary to make a voyage in a floating palace, nor would she, if she could, gormandize every day at the expense of her humbler fellow-citizens; on the contrary, she is generous and noble-minded, and, instead of confining her invitations to that beautiful country England, to a few rich ladies and gentlemen, she would extend them to as many enlightened people as possible of every class, so that all might come home freighted with wisdom for the benefit of that great human family of which she is one of the wisest instructresses.

To drop the metaphor, the false kinds of expense in travelling are equally contemptible and

injurious to the character of our people, who will sooner or later discover that fashion and custom do as much, or more, to degrade the great body of the people, as those iron men who rule with the sword. If the common people of the United States are to be anything, they must have a mind of their own, and become their own masters in morals and economy; if these be right, they can give the law to whom they will. But ignorant people will give the law to nobody.

28. We left New-York on the sixteenth day of May, and on the twenty-fifth of that month were about half way across the Atlantic, after nine days of hard, steady westerly winds. On the morning of that day the sea was calm and the scene beautiful; all were well, miseries and sorrows were forgotten. Our lives being now in the present and the future, we began to look about us, and to compare our condition, basking as we were in the sunshine, and surrounded by every luxury, with that of our neighbours the *steerage-passengers*. It is at such a moment, when we remember how wretched we have been, how equal in misery all men may be, how unimportant and even loathsome all the dainties of our table had been to the seasick; it is at such a moment that the heart expands, and we cast an eye through the thin partition that separates the different grades of passengers on board the ship.

The steerage-passengers, of whom there were about thirty-seven on board the St. James, were

divided from the cabin-passengers when on deck by a piece of canvass suspended from two spars lying across the ship about midships, a little forward of the mainmast. This canvass formed an impassable barrier between the parties, except that now and then some little brat of a child, who knew not or cared not for the laws of the ship, would play truant, lift the canvass, and overstep the barrier in order to see what sort of creatures the cabin-passengers were. This thin canvass partition, which custom makes a wall of brass, is a fit emblem of many of the fanciful and unreal distinctions of life. The steerage-passengers pay (1837) for their passage from New-York to England eighteen dollars, and from England to New-York five guineas. This difference is produced by the different length of the two voyages, as already stated. They furnish their own stores, which, upon an average, cost them about fifteen or twenty dollars. A pound English, when we left New-York, was worth about four dollars eighty-seven cents, we having bought a few sovereigns at that price. Passengers usually, in addition to their bills on England, or letters of credit, carry a few sovereigns (a sovereign being an English pound), to provide for accidents, such as shipwreck, &c. At this rate, the price of a steerage-passenger over, including passage-money and the cost of provisions, would be equal to, say thirty-six dollars. Travellers, in all general computation as to expense, call a pound English, or a sovereign, five

dollars, which the reader will find sufficiently accurate for common calculation. The English pound by our tariff is valued at four dollars forty-four cents. Between the sum of thirty-six dollars which the steerage-passenger pays, and the one hundred and forty dollars which we pay, there is a wide difference, and there is, to be sure, a vast difference in our accommodations. The steerage-passengers put up hams, pilot-bread, dried beef, cheese, butter, tea, coffee, salt, pepper, potatoes, &c., &c., according to their ability and tastes. In the St. James, we had on the dinner-table chickens, ducks, geese, veal, beef, ham, mutton, tongues, pilot-bread, excellent fresh bread baked on board, and at breakfast as good corn-bread as was ever eaten. For our dessert we had pies, puddings, tarts, oranges, figs, prunes, apples. Of wines, we had claret, port, and Madeira every day; Champagne twice or three times a week, but which I do not recollect; brandy and other spirits whenever called for, and soda-water in unlimited quantities.

29. We have for our sleeping apartment a state-room, which is a nice little chamber with two berths, an upper and an under, sufficient to accommodate two persons. The door that opens into it is made of beautiful mahogany or other expensive wood. In this little chamber we have room enough to hang our greatcoats and cloaks; it is about six feet and a half one way, and about five or five and a half the other. We have in it a small chest of drawers with four divisions, sufficient to accom-

modate two people; a washstand with two bowls and two pitchers. These make up a portion (no doubt many things are omitted) of the luxuries and comforts which we the cabin-passengers have on board these excellent ships.

30. The steerage is that portion of the vessel amidships immediately under the deck and over the hold. Into this space all the steerage-passengers are crowded, the ship sometimes carrying a hundred and more, as is well known. What better accommodations they can have, or whether any, upon the present plan of regulating these matters, for the money they pay, I cannot say, not being familiar with their condition. In justice I must declare, that all the steerage-passengers that I heard say anything upon the subject uniformly spoke well both of our ships and their officers.

At best, the steerage-passengers, if numerous, are in a miserable plight. In the morning they come up to the galley, and fill their tea and coffee pots, which are then carried down into the steerage. During the forenoon, all that choose put meat, vegetables, materials for puddings, &c., into separate bags, which are boiled in one pot for dinner. In the steerage, some have berths made in a coarse way with common boards, some sleep on chests, some on trunks; trunks and chests are sometimes piled one upon another to separate families; sometimes they are separated by a blanket for a curtain; often they have no separation, and are huddled together much like pigs in a sty. In very

bad weather, almost every sea that is shipped sweeps over the bows, when the steerage-passengers are, of course, drenched, if on deck; if the weather is so bad that the hatches must be closed, their discomfort is still greater. No degree of misery can well surpass that of a hundred steerage-passengers in such a situation, some very poor and without adequate provision, some seasick, some ill with other maladies, some women with infants at the breast, and all, sick or well, compelled to administer to their own relief and wants.

Among the steerage-passengers you may plainly observe some delicate and refined individuals, who have evidently seen better days, and who, from their decorous manners, if those alone could give them a right to a place in the cabin, would have as good a claim there as those who now enjoy that privilege. But, then, the sum of one hundred and forty dollars is wanting. And where is it? "In the Adventures of a Guinea" we may find it perhaps. It may be on some lady's finger, about her neck, or in her ears, or in a luxurious shawl about her shoulders. Some people would rather flourish in a fine shawl than see Europe. (Shawls were sold in New-York at auction, some years since, for a thousand dollars each.) It may be in the exquisite chiselling and gilding of the ship's mahogany-work; perhaps it is in *Sillery* made in France, or, it may be, brewed in New-Jersey; or Johannesbergh* man-

* See Redding on Wines. It seems that Prince Metternich

ufactured at London or New-York, which some gentlemen would think ungenteel to touch at less than five dollars the bottle, they graduating the quality by the price, as some Southern ladies order their finery from the New-York milliners, saying, in a postscript, "Let it be as dear as possible." Or perhaps causeless war, that aristocratic device contrived to make fat jobs, offices, and poor people, may have swept it from the board, or some political spendthrift like George the Fourth, who thinks more of a ride in a pony chaise to Virginia Water than of all the industrious people who have made England what England is.

Till the great human family is duly considered in the use of property, both by people and government, we shall proceed pretty much as we have hitherto, building cobhouses to be overturned by every gust of "panic," or crushed by every "pressure."

31. These steerage-passengers exhibit many of the true distinctions which we see in the world; these are the common people; these are a portion of that multitude of poor people whom we see around us, and who are made poor and kept poor, not by an invincible necessity of being so, but greatly by the vices, follies, and frauds of those above them, who govern them, and partly by their own follies and vices. Distinctions in riches, in the comforts of travelling, and all other accommo-

is the owner of all the Johannesbergh, of which there is very little.

dations, there must be. But such want, recklessness, and wretchedness on the one side; such vanity, pride, sensuality, and superfluous expense on the other, show that there is something radically vicious and false in our systems, public and private. *We are still living too much under the influence of that privileged system of other countries which, in giving a bounty to vices that destroy property and happiness, is the great social curse.* In pointing out the *effects*, I mean more fully to illustrate the *cause*. It is certain that the rich are richer, comparatively, than they should be, and the poor poorer than they need be. If the people have an interest in anything, they have in right principles of economy, and in understanding them thoroughly. No mortal can conceive of the property there might be in the world, and of the comforts that all, or nearly all, could obtain, if property was not wasted and destroyed in the stupid ways in which it is, both by rich and poor. Voluntary poverty in this free country ought to be despised, hated, and abhorred.

32. What, then, follows from the abuse of property? Not only a horrible inequality of comforts, but a disgusting poverty of supply for the greater part, so that they have neither good food, clothes, houses, gardens, roads, pavements, nor a thousand other common things that might be mentioned: then, again, so costly are pride, vanity, and fashion, that nine tenths of even those who are best off can hardly keep their heads above water; and then

many of those who are called the working-people, being houseless, comfortless, and hopeless, become disgusted with the waste of property which they see in the higher classes, fall into idleness and intemperance, and destroy all the property they can.

33. At Portsmouth our luggage was examined at the custom-house, which was a mere form, for our carpet-bags (I can only speak of ours) were not opened, and the trunks were barely unlocked, a few articles being lifted up and then put down again. While the man was doing this, he said, in a whisper to my friend, "It is usual to give something for despatch." He, in compliance with the vicious custom which is said to exist in these custom-houses, gave two shillings and sixpence for both.

34. Before getting on shore at Portsmouth, we were detained some hours by quarantine regulations. The health officer came alongside of the ship, and asked the captain many questions about our health. After this he sent up a Bible to the captain at the end of a long pole, enclosed in a copper or brass case, from the little boat in which he sat. The captain, being obliged to swear to the statement he had made, kissed the Bible, case and all. The case was for *preservation;* of which principle, as the minds of the people of England are imbued with it, we know little or nothing, and may well learn.

CHAPTER II.

35. *Portsmouth, June,* 1836. Here we are in England! Reader, be you gentleman, farmer, mechanic, or whatever you are, if you be a citizen of the United States, and have money enough after discharging all the debts that folly and fashion fasten upon you; if you have time, and it be consistent with other duties, go to England and see the race from which you sprung; go and see what a nation loaded with a debt of eight hundred millions of pounds has accomplished; look at the palaces, pictures, statues, houses, cottages, roads, horses, sheep, &c.; consider what they might have been, how few paupers, how little of extreme poverty, with a proper economy, and without such a debt; go, and gain the pleasure of giving up your prejudices; go, it will do your mind and heart good.

36. From the moment we touched the shore I felt that I was at home. The outward state of things, to be sure, is far different, and, in most respects, far superior; but the man, his soul, his language, is essentially the same. To say, then, that we respect the English, looks like a sort of national vanity; it is the same thing as to esteem one's self.

37. We had hardly entered our hotel at Portsmouth before we were reminded of home, of the

blessings of commerce, and the free intercourse of nations. We saw the same furniture as in our own parlours and chambers; the same patterns of hanging-paper; the same bamboo chairs; the same green inside window-blinds; the same dimity counterpane upon our beds; washstand, bowls, basins, &c. The merchant is the great and first agent in the intercourse that disseminates the blessings of trade; and still, in the United States, he has been called an *unproductive labourer*. It would be quite as good sense to call the sailors of the St. James unproductive labourers. True political economy is founded in the wants of human nature itself.

38. I asked a friend in the United States who had been travelling a very short time in England, whether he got *fresh* eggs at the hotels. "Oh no," said he; "I understood that the nobility ate all the *fresh* eggs in England." It is true enough that the nobility have the choice in England, but we must confess that we found very good eatables there, sometimes a stale egg, but very rarely. It has often been said that anything may be bought in England for money, and it is generally true enough. This is one of the distinctions of England, good bread, butter, meats, &c., &c., and by far more universally good than in the United States, but there is not the same abundance of them for the great human family. And why not? I shall from time to time give some of the reasons.

At our hotel, I asked the waiter the price of eggs. He told me that he did not know, nor of

any marketable article; meaning, no doubt, of the general provisions for the house. This is the kind of education which the common people of England get, and which is so inferior to that of the United States. These are the antiquated notions which leave a Chinese where he was under Confucius, and an Englishman, in some respects, like his forefathers under the Edwards and the Henrys. This, they say, comes from the nice division of labour and keeping a man to one thing, by which he becomes so much more perfect in that. But why should not a waiter know prices? What is more important to a man who is to get a living? Waiters in England often become landlords; every man ought to know the prices, as far as he can, of the things he lives upon.

This keeping of useful knowledge out of the heads of people is quite too frequent even in the United States; in that class, especially, who send their daughters to boarding-schools, where they are taught "all the sciences and all the accomplishments," and at twenty-one many do not know the prices of half a dozen common household articles. This is a part of the ignorance in which the poor people of England are brought up; it is a part of that mode of vicious education by which the lower orders there are made and kept underlings from generation to generation. They have a prejudice in England against a man going out of his own narrow circle, for every man has his own, some larger and some smaller; and if he oversteps it he may tread

upon others. The boundaries established for lands and trades in England are equally distinct. If anything distinguishes the people of the United States over other nations, it is that every individual is a part of the whole, and that he is educated to take an interest in, and to know something of all that concerns a human being.

39. Portsmouth is said to be one of the most strongly fortified towns in England. We saw a regimental review by the governor of the town. The soldiers were neatly and well dressed, except that, I suppose, their dress may have cost three times as much as it ought. Some wore huge bearskin caps, some a large (I think leather) hat. Here was a magnificent display of epaulettes and various kinds of military coxcombry, very like what we have in our great army, the militia of the United States. It costs millions; no one knows the cost. The trappings of the horse or man do not make the horse or man. A huge bearskin cap is not needed to distinguish one corps from another; a simple military badge will do that. We underrate the man when we think that we make more of him by putting finery upon him. The more he thinks of his petty ornaments, his feathers, his epaulettes, his laced coat and hat, the less likely are his actions to be noble. Every man of common sense knows that those whose minds are busied with the thoughts of this trumpery are, with few exceptions, not first-rate people in any class. Cuvier was one of these exceptions. He prepared with the care of a pro-

fessional dressmaker the costume of the court under Bonaparte. But this was an idiosyncrasy. All the passions of men are useful in the different stages of society, even vanity, pride, and the rest; but the question is, which *are the most useful?* A poor girl in the United States, who bakes, washes, scrubs, for five or six dollars a month, and is driven on by a passion for a five-dollar cape, had better work for that than not work at all; but it is better still if her ambition be for something substantial, that will serve her in a sick day, or when *panics* and *pressures* come, and the factories stop. This love of finery, which has become so universal among us, from seeming to put the rich and poor upon a footing of equality, but which can never effect that object, may be useful in a half-barbarous state, when there is no other motive sufficient to make people work; but the time has now come when our labour is wanted for things more useful.

40. At Portsmouth I looked in vain to see one wooden-covered house; there may be a shingle in the town, but I doubt it. This construction of the houses in England accounts, in a measure, for the few fires they have compared with our bon-fires of churches, stores, houses, &c. There are other causes for fires here not known in England. From what I saw of the careful habits of the people of England, I think there must be ten times as much property destroyed and lost here as there by carelessness and recklessness. It is equally painful and disgusting to see how we waste and squander.

From the top of St. Paul's, which looks down upon some of the most indifferent parts of London, there is not a single wooden roof, partition-fence, stable, outhouse, not even a board or shingle to be seen. All appears to be one mass of stone, brick, and mortar.

41. We are by far too lofty in the United States in all our ideas of expense, that is, compared with our fortunes; there is no *true* economy in anything. Mr. Dewey says, very truly, that the English are never ashamed to count the cost, nor to speak of it. We were witnesses to the fact of not less than eight or ten persons asking for franks to their letters of a member of parliament in his dining-room, they not making the least secret of the matter. I say nothing of the meanness of cheating the government, or rather the people, in this way, which I believe to be quite as common here as in England. We were surprised, in Portsmouth, at the smallness of the houses, even in some of the best parts of the town. In these we saw many good brick houses, two and three stories high, with fronts of not more than fifteen feet, and some, I think, not over twelve or thirteen. It would be very well for large numbers of people in the United States to import this modest fashion. A great soul does not require a large tenement, and a jail is better than a twenty thousand Waverley Place house with a millstone of debt about one's neck.

42. It will be nearly incredible, in a future age, that political economists should have taught the im-

possibility of finding employment for all the people, and wholly so that multitudes should have actually starved for the want of something to do by which they could earn their bread; and still this is the actual fact in Europe at this moment. But this is nothing strange at present, for a large proportion of the people are, in a great measure, idle, or doing some kind of work that is comparatively useless. Nothing is more striking upon entering an English town of any size, even in a country so industrious as England, than the sight of so many idle people, or of those who seem to have little or nothing to do. In the neighbourhood of our hotel, upon the docks, and about the water, we saw hundreds such, not boatmen alone, who might be waiting to transport passengers, but persons of various descriptions. I asked the boatman why there were so many idle people about. "Oh," he replied, "they have nothing to do; there are too many of us in this country." This language I often heard from the common people. Here appeared to be a true disciple of the Malthusian school. It is quite true that there are too many, and will be as long as so large a portion are set to work in the way they are at present. They will certainly want bread as long as the corn-laws prevent them from buying bread where they can get it cheap, and as long as the people are put to making fine caps and feathers for soldiers instead of manufacturing axes, saws, shovels, spades, &c., wherewith to exchange with those nations that produce the materials of cheap

bread. The truth is, that the fashions, systems, and laws which at present regulate labour are so barbarous, and the whole fabric of opinion upon which they are erected so baseless, that Mr. Malthus's opinions, as applied to the actual state of the world, are plausible at least. But that is not sufficient for the American people, nor ought it to be for any people; for the true question is, not what is, but what ought to be, what may be, and what must be, if we have faith in the goodness of God, and the capacity which he has given to man to move onward, "to go ahead" in the American vocabulary.

At Portsmouth I attempted to get a sight of the docks, which are said to be among the great things of England, and was told that a stranger could not see them; but that, if I would put myself on the books as from any town in England, there would be no difficulty. Upon getting inside of the gates I was requested, by the person who introduced strangers to the place, to insert my name and place of abode. This I did truly, when he observed that he was very sorry, but that I could not, as a stranger, be allowed to see the docks unless I first sent up to London and obtained the necessary document from our minister. I remonstrated, and told him, with a little enthusiasm, such as cannot but be excited by the view of so glorious a country as England, that I had endured twenty-four days' suffering from that most villanous of all diseases, seasickness, and had come across the ocean to see

his country. I cannot suppose that this compliment, so just and so well deserved, was the cause of his kind attentions and effort to obtain for me a sight of the place; for nearly everywhere in England, known or unknown, I received civilities which can never be forgotten, and often those substantial kindnesses which can never be repaid. However severe, therefore, my criticisms may be upon the usages and institutions of the country, they will not be more so than are often bestowed upon my own, and will never be the result of spleen or ill-temper. This man told me that, so far as he had any power, the rule was inflexible; but, if possible, he would get leave from the admiral or commanding officer. He then went to an officer and stated my case, who, not less civil than himself, said promptly, that, if possible, he would get me permission. He went for that purpose, and returned after about twenty minutes, saying that the admiral could not consent to dispense with the rule. Between two great nations everything should be done to facilitate intercourse, and make the inhabitants of each country as kind and agreeable to the other as possible. Besides, in the present state of the world, it would be about as judicious to blind the eyes of strangers lest they should see the gaslights between London and Windsor, as to shut them out of these dockyards.

43. Everybody has heard of the horrible *dearness* of England! The word "*dear*" conveys a very bad idea to the minds of most people, and to

the poor it is often a word of dreadful import. There was a time when we could boast of the cheapness of our own country. I believe it is pretty well understood, at last, that the excessive issue of bank paper for some years past has had much to do with prices, with *cheap* and *dear*. As to *cheap* and *dear*, I shall from time to time give such information as to the relative prices in England and the United States as came under my notice. Few subjects are more important than those embraced in the words *cheap* and *dear*. The causes of cheapness and dearness are well worthy the greatest attention. Dear bread, dear meats, dear fruits, all things dear, are generally found in those countries where monopoly has gathered the blessings into the laps of a few, and sown the curses broadcast among the residue of the people.

At our hotel we paid 3*s*. 6*d*. for a warm bath, that is, 3*s*. for the bath and sixpence to the waiter. The English shilling, at the ordinary rate of exchange, is worth about 22 cents of our money. At this rate we paid 77 cents each for a bath. In turning English shillings into ours, it will be sufficiently accurate for common calculation to consider the English shilling as equal to two shillings New-York currency, or twenty-five cents. Here, then, is nearly a dollar for a little hot water, a place to wash in, a piece of soap, and a clean towel, and, if you please, the attendance of the waiter for five minutes! Now a poor man in England must work a whole week on the land in order to earn ten shil-

lings, or two dollars and a half of our money. What a frightful disproportion! There must be something very wrong and false in the system which produces such a result. I will, however, as to the cause of it, leave the subject here, to be resumed hereafter. In New-York we pay, or did pay, for a bath in Chamber-street, 37½ cents. No poor man can get one for less, that I know of. His bath, then, costs nearly the price of his whole daily living, for many labouring people did not, but a little time since in New-York, pay more than twenty shillings a week for their board and lodging. The consequence is, that no poor man can afford to take a public bath in New-York in winter or summer, except at the docks; and by poor men here I mean as well many of those who associate with rich people, live in their houses, and are their relatives, perhaps, as those who are known to be poor.

44. The expensive comforts and ways of living in all countries mark the gulf between rich and poor. The natural comforts which God designed for all his people have become to many dainties and luxuries; they show the debasement of the people, and that property is not made to do what it ought and might do. Think of a bath costing a poor man in England two or three days' labour! a man, too, who does the hardest part of the drudgery that makes all property.

What should be done by the public, and what by private individuals, so far as property is concerned, I shall consider hereafter. Thus much I will say here with confidence, that public baths ought to be

furnished to the poor in our rich cities at little or no expense. If the barbarous spendthrifts of Rome could furnish them to the poor at about a farthing as the price of admission, it would be a pity if we should not be able to do the same thing at some very small expense. *

45. On the 10th day of June, 1836, we took our seats for London in an oldfashioned coach, the "Royal Blue." This deference to royalty in England did not appear to me very much to enlarge the minds of the people. The names of it appear on the coaches, inns, shops, &c. The giving coaches a name is a good plan, because in England there are so many on the same routes that the designation becomes convenient. Ours was what is called in England a *slow* coach. We left Portsmouth at half past 8 A.M., and reached London at about 6 P.M.; 9½ hours, 72 miles. Our stoppages made it slow. We dined at Ripley upon good mutton, the uniform excellence of which in England is very remarkable. We paid two shillings for our dinner, and sixpence to the servant-maid who waited at table. The miserable meats which we get in many of the country parts of the United States show a poor economy. Our coach contained six seats for inside passengers, or, as the English elliptically express it, six "insides." We paid for an inside 16*s.*, and for an outside 11*s.* Every working-man should remember that all his pleasures must be paid for. As the coaches in England pay a toll at

* See Domestic Manners of the Romans, chapter X.

the turnpike gates, the traveller must pay his portion in the price of his fare. Eleven shillings for such a ride, over such roads, and in such a country, was one of the cheapest pleasures that I ever enjoyed. Such pleasures more of us could enjoy if we would renounce our vain and costly trappings, give up our debasing appetites, eat and drink according to reason, and then be just to each other in the distribution of property.

46. The English coach with four insides, the most common coach, so far as I saw, is very much of a humbug; and nearly the only one that I know of in England, so far as the comforts of travelling are concerned. As to the coach, it really is not the thing that it purports to be, heretical as this assertion may be to our friends over the water. The inside is so small that, with four good-sized persons, you are too closely packed; and so low that, with a reasonable height, you are compelled to wear a cap. There is no light except through two little windows; and on the outside, where you have places for fourteen with the coachman, the seats are nothing but bare boards, with the exception of that next to the coachman, which has a cushion. I stated these objections to an Englishman; "Oh," said he, "you can always get a wisp of straw to sit upon." The reader will understand that I only speak of the coaches which I saw; I was never in a mailcoach.

There are in coaches in the country parts many wretched horses; by this I do not mean horses so

broken down that they cannot perform their regular routes at nine or ten miles an hour, but horses which, from their bent and often lacerated knees, show the dreadful service to which they are put by such rapid travelling over flinty roads. It is said, in England, that three years is the common life of a horse in a stagecoach. How to reconcile the laws of humanity with the interests of the traveller in this respect, I know not.

47. Here the humbug ends; the coach is clean, the horses are beautifully groomed, the harness is as black as jet, the ear-pieces are sometimes ornamented with roses, sometimes with dahlias; the coachman is one of the best-looking men in the kingdom; his whip does its office faithfully; the long lash is hardly larger than a good-sized twine; the thin-skinned horses feel it so keenly, that it seems only to be necessary to lay it gently across their backs. Nor is there any racing or contending of opposition coaches on the road, that I saw, though I heard of it as not uncommon formerly; nor is there any breaking of thorough braces, and repairing them with rails (I saw no rails); no stopping to tie broken harness with tow strings; no kicking or pounding horses that are unable to perform their routes in the accustomed time; nor did I ever see but one unruly horse in a coach, and that was in travelling from Bristol to Cheltenham. As we came near our stopping-place, not far from this latter town, we passed a groom on a refractory horse. The coachman, who recognised an old ac-

quaintance, cried out, "That horse has no more mooth than a bool." We remonstrated, but the horse was put in, when it appeared, truly enough, that he had no "mooth," for he bolted off from the road, stopped, cramped the wheels, and would have turned us over, but the passengers insisted upon his being taken out, which was done, for the coachman dared not refuse. The abuse of travellers in the United States by the use of refractory horses is common, and is a shameful imposition upon the public. If life is wantonly sacrificed in this way, or by committing the traveller to the charge of a drunken driver, the proprietor, upon every legal principle, is guilty of manslaughter. We shall never be safe in travelling in our stagecoaches in this country till the people unite to make an example of these "stage accidents," nine out of ten of which take place through the wilful inattention, carelessness, or mismanagement of the proprietors or drivers. Every abuse of this kind should be published in the newspapers far and near.

I was told in England that the coaches, or some of them, were owned by the builders; were hired by the coach proprietors, and kept in order by the builders at their expense, and for that purpose frequently inspected. In England they consider it important not only to *make* things, but somewhat so to *preserve* them when made; an art not quite so well understood in the United States.

48. It is a great pity that the working-people in the United States will not at once shake off their

51. As soon as the common people come thoroughly to understand how much their wages, and, of course, prosperity through life, depend upon their intelligence, good manners, fidelity, and especially temperance, they will cease to paddle along in the troubled waters in which they have ever been tugging against wind and tide. These virtues are the qualifications by which the English coachman earns his great wages. Why should a coachman, in the nature of things, earn a thousand dollars a year, when the menservants in the hotels in which I was did not earn over sixteen or eighteen shillings sterling a week? His work is not so hard, and often does not require as much skill as that of the servant. From every inquiry I was able to make, I think that the average receipts of the English coachman are at least £200 a year; many get much more.

52. I was told that a coachman who drove from London to Cambridge, about sixty miles, earned £500 a year; he was said to be the son of a clergyman, a person of excellent character, and a great favourite. As the coachmen are paid by the passengers, their receipts will depend greatly upon this last circumstance. A coachman who drove us from London to Windsor was said to receive at least a pound a day; several passengers paid him a shilling both going and coming. A young man who drove us from Newmarket to Wells, in Norfolk, told us that he earned £200 a year; and this is a road of little travel compared with many others. Two hundred pounds, or one thousand

dollars, is a larger average sum than is earned by all the lawyers and clergymen in the United States; but it must be remembered that many things are upon a very different scale in England from that which we have.

53. Some few broken-down gentlemen in England resort to the coach for a living; I mean broken down by their own folly and extravagance, by far the most common way of breaking down here and everywhere. There is no reason, to be sure, why a coachman should not be in all essentials a gentlemen, but there is reason enough, generally, why he should not be a broken-down gentleman. We met with one instance of a half-pay officer who drove a coach. This man is well known; we first heard of him repeatedly by name, and then saw him on the route from Brighton to London. There are many false gods in England, as there are, no doubt, in all countries. I have mentioned one; rank is another; before this supreme deity a common man falls prostrate. Our coachman was a *baronet*, and, as he approached the coach to take the reins, a man on the box said, in a most deferential whisper, "That's a baronet, that's a baronet." The servants have a customary sign of deference of this kind. For instance: they ask a gentleman, "Will you have your clothes washed to-day?" or, "Shall I move your trunk to the opposite side of the room?" The gentleman says yes, and the servant says, "Thankee, sir." This we in the United States think is being thankful for small favours.

Such is the subservient tone of the servants and common people in England, and so painful is it to those who truly delight in the equal condition of things in the United States! Our man of rank was very communicative to the passengers; the coachman being a sort of showman, who points out the various objects of interest on the road to those who set near him. A farmer (he seemed to be a very inferior sort of a farmer) on the same seat with myself asked some person for information about the weather, or some equally indifferent matter; to which the baronet replied, and the farmer said, "Thankee, sir."

54. A coachman, if for anything, should be distinguished by the appropriateness, simplicity, and durability of his dress, and not by its finery. I have seen more than one start from the White-horse Cellar, Piccadilly, in white gloves, waistcoat, and pantaloons; and this is a man who is to drive through rain, dust, and all kinds of weather; he cannot get inside of the coach and save his fine clothes in case of a storm, as the outside passengers may. I have seen, also, from the seventh story at Meurice's in Paris, in the area below, three coachmen at once in white gloves, and, I think, all dressed in *black*. But the coachman says, "I am not an hostler; I do not clean horses, coach, and harness, as your American coachmen do." That is quite true, for his main business is to drive the coach; but, then, he must drive in all weather; and then, again, when passengers get down on the road, or

in entering a town, he must, if there be no guard, which is very common, help them off with their baggage, clean or dirty; so that, after all, his white gloves, waistcoat, and pantaloons, in his situation, are in poor taste. This is one of the very foolish ways in which the common people waste their money. Our baronet was compelled, as we entered London, to leave the box to take off the dirty baggage of several passengers, among others that of two very coarse women, and did not fail to give us the usual recognition of thankfulness in touching his hat upon receiving our shillings. This gentleman wore two diamonds or other precious stones in his checked neckcloth, and had carnations in his horses' headstalls, another *cheap* beauty. This baronet was the only swearing coachman that I heard in England, though I believe that the English, in this elegant accomplishment, are not behind most of their European neighbours.

The baronet told us that he "horsed the coach" a part of the way from Brighton to London, that is, he owned the horses. Our coachman from Portsmouth to London, and from Newmarket to Wells, told us the same thing. This plan of making the coachman interested in the establishment is certainly a good one; it requires him to be a man of property, and gives greater security to the passengers; for every man will take greater care of his own than of what belongs to another. To be at once a partner and a labourer is one thing, to be a labourer only is another. The institutions

of the United States present this advantage to the working man in a degree not known in any other country; and it will be for him, in the practice of a wise economy, and thus obtaining the means of becoming a partner, to show how much farther still he may carry out this idea. If a coachman may become a partner upon a small capital, so may thousands of others in various other kinds of business. This union of the labourer and capitalist in one person may be made a new principle here. Many small capitals make a large one. The first stone laid as the foundation of this union will be *character—temperance.*

No man knows what he can do till he has tried, and the same is true of the millions of common people and common labourers. There is no doubt, not the least, but that they are on the highroad to a better lot. In the United States, certainly, there is nothing wanted but education, the will, the determination, the moral force of temperance, industry, and righteousness; the combining together, as all people do who mean to exert their power to any advantage. To expect any great amelioration from caucuses, elections, laws, or political movements, without a corresponding change in these respects, is childish.

55. It is worth years of economical self-denial to see the beauty of England, and still how few can enjoy that pleasure upon the present scale of expense, the whole system of which would seem to be established to depress every portion of the people except the opulent.

It is a common opinion in the United States among gentlemen travellers, I do not say universal, that a gentleman cannot travel a year in Europe for less than about three thousand dollars, that is, comfortably, without meanness and pinching. There must be something very wrong in such a state of society; it results from the privileged system; it is the wretched tyranny of fashion practised against all the poorer members of it; it is inconsistent with pure pleasures and a moral existence; it supposes, in regard to the greater number, a large expenditure for vanity, show, and a sensual life. But if a man will pay as much for his wine as his dinner at a London hotel, when his wine is a curse to him altogether, or when, perhaps, he is better off with one fifth of it, why, then, it must be so; or if he dare not be seen drinking a glass of cold water instead of the wine, why, then, it will be so. Enormous taxation, which makes everything dear, and disgraceful privileges to a few, with the paltry ideas of gentlemanly expense which they have engendered, can alone account for this state of things. The people of the United States, among themselves at least, can put an end to it.

56. Among the greatest wonders of England are her roads! The labour expended in this way is one of the best modes of distributing property; all derive advantage from them, the poor as well as the rich, though not all equally. This, then, I consider one of the first points in all true political economy. *That is:* in regard to *those things of common en-*

joyment which either cannot be accomplished by private individuals, or which naturally belong to the public, like the highways of a country, the people should take care that the property, by that I mean the property of all the people, be first applied to them rather than to suffer it to be squandered *in public or private pomp*. To prevent, as far as possible, the spendthrift part of the people from throwing away their property like children, let good roads be made; pure water brought into the cities; streets properly paved and lighted, as well where the poor live as the rich; above all, *let the youth be well educated*. I say let these and all things like them first be well done, for they produce a wholesome democratic equality, not only giving comfort to all, but enlarging our minds and souls, and knitting us together as brethren of the same family. In a free country these objects can, in a great measure, be accomplished by general taxation; and it is because the poorer voters do not understand their own interests that they have been so neglected. The people must correct these proceedings.

57. It was said, years since, that the highways of England extended twenty-five thousand miles, and that the expense of them was not less than twenty millions sterling.* The Abbé Raynal says of roads, "Let us travel over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we shall find no facility of trading from a city to a town, and from a village to a hamlet, we may pronounce the people to be bar-

* Edinburgh Encyclopedia, tit. Roads and Highways.

barous, and we shall only be deceived respecting the degree of barbarism." I think, if a stranger was asked what is that most perfect thing which England has done for the common enjoyment of her people, he would point to the roads!

In other things you can see deficiencies and imperfections; but to us, who are compelled to drag through the mud and mire, and over the stones and ruts of the roads of New-England, which are the best in the United States, the roads of England seem perfect. Not one, but nearly all of the few I saw. I allude to two trifling exceptions, one in Norfolk near Wells, where the road was not a turnpike, and one in Wales from Cardiff to Merthyr Tydvil. To have any just idea of the roads of England, it is indispensable that you should see them, for no description can give any adequate information. People are incredulous upon such a subject. When the people of the United States cease to pay so dearly as at present for their whistles and pretty playthings, more of them will be able to go to England, and see that beautiful country, and those magnificent roads, and then there will be more witnesses to the truth of what I say. All such will get another high pleasure, that of glorying in ancestors whose amazing industry and reliance upon God to relieve them finally from misgovernment, has held out and kept up their courage against some of the most stupid waste of property by their rulers that was ever known among mankind.

58. I have said that the making of good roads is

one of the best modes of distributing property. That is generally the best way of laying out money which produces more money, or, in other words, property; and, when we speak of property, wealth, riches, we do not mean what a miser does when he talks of his bonds, his stocks, his houses, lots, &c., but what rational men mean when they speak of those thousands of good, healthful, beautiful, agreeable things which enable them to enjoy the world and each other. These things are undoubtedly worth getting together; but what a miserable scarcity of them at present in the human family!

59. In laying out our money upon a road, we have a new capital; in doing so, we have paid labourers for making something that is lasting, that enables every man to travel more cheaply than he could before. When the gentlemen of England spend their money in maintaining two or three hundred racehorses at Newmarket yearly, it is quite true that they distribute property (as to improving the breed of horses, that I shall speak of hereafter); that is, the groom, and the groom's lad, and the sadler, &c., get wages, but they *produce* nothing. On the contrary, the man who works on a road not only gets wages, which none but people of some property can pay, but he produces a road which is good for all, rich and poor, to the end of all time, if it be kept in repair. This shows the difference whether labourers work to produce one thing or another, or, in other words, whether labourers are employed merely for the sake of keeping them at

work and giving them wages, or for the purpose of producing *some useful thing as well as earning wages;* a point of the greatest importance in all economy, and which, in my opinion, makes one of the grand differences between the condition of Europe and that of the United States; a consideration I wish the reader distinctly to keep in mind.

60. I have said, too, that those are the best modes of distributing property which produce the greatest equality of enjoyment, always taking care that nothing be done to injure the rights of property, thereby taking from industry its true reward and stimulus. For what can be the design of the property of this world but to make a great many people happy instead of a few?

Good roads equalize enjoyments and spread property in many ways. The very making of the road takes so much property as the road costs, in wages, from those who have it, and transfers it to the labourers who make the road, and who have it not. Then, again, a road is not like a coat, good on the back of one man and ragged on that of another, but it is equally good for the poor man and the king.

Good roads, by opening easy communications from the sea and rivers to the remotest parts of the country, enable those who live in those remote parts to bring their products easily to market. This increases the price of their products, and of their lands, of course, and this tends to equality of prices. So that, finally, by the aid of good roads,

railroads, canals, and other communications, all parts of a country stand as nearly as may be upon the same footing of equality, instead of being in a half barbarous condition, where all commerce, manufactures, and riches are confined to a few places on the sea or the rivers. This state of things is now advancing very rapidly in the United States. Equality of prices in provisions is very remarkable in England, and much greater than in the United States. For instance, beef sold in the London markets for eightpence a pound when we were there; while in the remote country parts I never found it below sixpence halfpenny, and generally as high as sevenpence. Most other marketable articles are in something like this proportion. But we know that in the United States the difference of prices, where the difference depends upon carriage alone, is much greater. It is the *price of carriage*, then, that produces this great difference in the price of marketable articles. There was a time, before the Erie Canal was made, when wheat in the county of Ontario, about two hundred miles from Albany, at the head of tide water, was not worth more than thirty-seven and a half cents the bushel; whereas, at Albany, wheat has not probably, for fifty years past, been worth less than the double of that price. But it is the great advantages which good roads impart to commerce, trade, manufactures, and agriculture, wherein we see a proper distribution of property, and the immense advance of the common people. It is in those

countries where these do not flourish that, as Sismondi says, "there are no people."

61. The few crossroads that I saw in England were nearly in the same admirable condition with the great highways, but I can speak only of a very few. It is hardly possible that their general condition can be the same.

All the roads in England were originally made very much as our roads generally are in New-England.* By an act passed in the reign of Philip and Mary, surveyors of highroads were provided for, the parishes being compelled to make and repair the roads by a labour assessment. The disadvantage of this labour system was perceived in England, as it is with us; and this led, during the reign of George the Third, to a commutation of the labour contribution for a money tax on land. The sensible people of Massachusetts know that a money, instead of a labour tax, would save us at least one half of our expense on the roads; and still ancient prejudices keep up this imbecile, shiftless, thriftless way of wasting our property.

62. The turnpikes in England are made in the following way. The roads are called trusts. The business of making them is given to commissioners, who are gentlemen of the county or parish where the road is to be made. These gentlemen apply to parliament for leave to make the road, and to be appointed trustees; they are authorized to borrow money to make the roads, for which they give bonds

* M'Cullock's Commercial Dictionary.

that run indefinitely, there being a power in the trustees, however, to take them up if they have funds. When the road is made the trustees put up the tolls at auction to the highest bidder; the tolls paying the interest of the bonds and all other charges; the holders of the bonds having a lien on the gates for their security; so that the roads are, in fact, a pledge for the security of the payment of interest on the bonds. In this sense the roads are private property.

63. In giving the above account of the provisions in the acts of parliament for making roads I do not pretend to entire accuracy, as I have not one of them before me. To a stranger, who is rioting in innocent pleasure at every step in England, the top of a coach on an English road is one of the most enviable situations in life. I have travelled a whole day, that is, one hundred and ten miles in twelve hours, without any fatigue that put me to inconvenience. In many coaches the travelling is more rapid.

64. We were told at Reading that the road from that place to Basingstoke (twelve miles) let for thirteen hundred pounds a year, which sum goes to keep the road and tollhouses in repair. That two gates on the great western road were let for three thousand pounds annually, the whole of which sum was expended yearly to repair the tollhouses and road, and for incidental expenses (nearly fifteen thousand dollars). It shows the magnificent scale upon which affairs are carried on in England. Some of the tollhouses on these roads are among the most graceful

structures in the country. What could not such a people accomplish with a fair field for all!

If the people of the United States would keep the forms of beauty and utility constantly before their eyes, their bills at the milliner's and tailor's would be far more moderate; nor would they empty their pockets, as they have been accustomed to do, into those of the grocer and tavern-keeper. When we come to add up the amount of money misspent in any important particular, it seems incredible that so much can be wasted in such a way. At present, in New-England, a surveyor of highways would as soon think of providing prussic acid for his men at work on the roads as ardent spirits. It would be a pleasant sight now to see in a pile the money that has been spent in this way upon our highways since the revolution! Reader, try to make it out, if you can, and see how far it would go to produce those magnificent roads which I saw in England, over which the horses sometimes gallop as easily as they would upon a racecourse. I heard it said that Lord Brougham was in the habit of travelling from London to his country-place in a postchaise at night, he reading all the while by lamplight! Compare this with the corduroys and wheels up to the hub in mud!

65. I pronounce no opinion as to the most economical mode of making the roads of England; but it is certain that they are a great ornament to the country and comfort of the people; that they show

what property might do in other things if there was a wise use and a just distribution of it.

It is certain that a division of property (I do not speak of our laws for the equal division of property among children) is taking place in the United States, such as has never been known among mankind. New principles are at work here; they are yet feebly understood and exerted, but their existence is certain. True equality is that where the law secures to every man the fruits of his labour and skill, but *nothing more*. This better distribution of property is the unavoidable result of our new state of society; it follows from our equal constitutional privileges; from universal education, which tends to a great equality of mind, for it is mind that produces property. These are the consequences: high wages, combinations of small capitalists, where large capital is required; so that the capitalist is at once labourer and capitalist; control of the working people over all property for public purposes; a respect among them for each other; temperance; an innocent and enlightened country population, that overawes the natural vices of the great cities; an unexampled facility to poor people of obtaining land and other property. Above all, the pure principles of the Christian religion are daily gaining ground, and sanctifying, confirming, and establishing this sacred charter of the equal natural rights of mankind, which is entitled to the unbounded love and reverence of the people! In public opinion, other consequences follow.

It is a settled point, that riches can have no such power here as they have in Europe. The rich are beginning slowly to see that labour is the safeguard and honour of their children; that great riches too often spoil them, render them feeble, insignificant, and contemptible in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, and are, what religion has pronounced them to be, a moral impediment, a social evil, what Lord Bacon calls "the baggage of virtue." It is certain, then, that the rich, from affection to their children, will turn their thoughts to nobler and less exclusive uses of their riches.

66. This greater equality, this better distribution, is the great truth to be taught and enforced in our political economy; it is the beginning and the end; it is the true *democratic* doctrine; it is equally consistent with the rights of rich and poor. This equality of property was that which the Declaration of Independence meant when it declared all men "to be born free and equal," and it is what we mean when we inculcate the necessity of universal education; without it the democratic system has no perfection; it is a name and a delusion. This is not the political economy of Europe, but it is of reason, religion, and nature, which will sooner or later establish their empire.

The love of property is a universal passion. It can never have been designed as the blessing of the few. It is through the property passion that men become careful, economical, temperate, and virtuous; it is this that makes them think seriously

of the uses of property. It is one of the great supporters of morals. Without this passion men are mere clods of the valley; they are fit for no relation as subjects or citizens; if the bread that they have worked for is snatched out of their mouths, in despair they desert their wives and children; they fly to hovels and ginshops; they lie down in the dirt, and shut their eyes against the sun. Look at the poor people of England; multitudes of them live without motive or hope; they work by day from the dread of starvation, and revel at night; they waste as fast as they create. Read the accounts of Ireland! The idea of so beautiful a world, and so capable of abundance, being enjoyed by a few, is equally revolting to reason and religion. Those who take care of the earth ought to inherit the earth. The careful, conscientious, temperate labourers, who lay up ten dollars this year and twenty the next, are as superior in virtue as they are in industry to their idle oppressors.

67. It is the universal hope of property, of independence, of the dignity that belongs to a man, that is producing the "wonderful affluence of the United States." Let our labourers, then, raise a new banner, and inscribe upon it, in letters of gold as bright as the sun, "A just division of property; the earth and all its glories to the virtuous; no others shall gain them, no others deserve them."

Upon the plan of a noble and generous existence; of equal laws, no monopolies; of giving fair play to all; "of living and letting live;" of getting rid of

over eating and drinking; of the ten thousand costly fineries and sensualities that now either swallow up property or prevent its production, one result is certain, and that is, *an immense increase of wealth.*

68. The people of the United States may write and talk against monopolies; they will never be free till they have got rid of the bondage of sensuality, intemperance, and fashion; till they cease to run after the great, the rich, and fashionable, and can gather courage to overthrow the little, contemptible, aristocratic image, with embroidery upon its shoulders, with gold in its ears, around its neck, and upon its fingers, which they now worship; till they seek for independence in the virtue, temperance, simplicity, and economy of their lives. These are the great and natural dividers of property; this is the true *agrarian code.*

69. A monstrous inequality of *aristocratic privileged wealth* has been the great political and social evil; we are yet living unconsciously under its influence; under the influence of a barbarous age, of European fashions and customs. We know not how barbarous we are; the future only will show it. It is the rage for speculation, to live without work, to get rich out of nothing, to be richer than our neighbours, to show off how great and fashionable we are, that has seized so many with an epidemic fury, and brought them to the disgrace and ruin in which they are now involved.

70. Equality of condition, or as much of that as is attainable, with freedom to all to exercise their

genius and industry for their own advantage, must be the law. The *privileged* system is as great a moral blight to man as it is a physical curse to the earth. A privileged rich man, who is under no control from those about him, becomes a brute in caprice and sensuality. It is this equality, compared with what has existed in other countries, that has given to the people of the United States kind tempers and generous hearts; which, in the midst of revolution, have saved them from the bloody massacres which have disgraced other nations. It is not the good things of the earth that hurt a man, but it is having all the good things to one's self that corrupt the soul. At present, the horrible evil is the want among our "brother men" of many of those common, simple good things that are necessary for all, and that God designed for all, while so large a number are in the pursuit of expensive phantoms. Upon this plan there must be white or black slavery, of course; a division "horizontally into up and down," into labourers and capitalists, the owners and the owned. And then we shall be told "that the institution of domestic slavery is an indispensable element in an unmixed representative republic."

In part first I have spoken plainly and freely of slavery, and have since seen no cause to alter my opinions.

As to *agrarianism* in a country where so many have property, and so many can easily acquire it, it is the "shadow of a ghost." People ought to be ashamed to be frightened at it, or even to talk of it.

CHAPTER III.

71. June, 1836. We arrived in London yesterday, and were put down at the Colonnade Hotel, Charles-street, near Pall Mall. Before breakfast (the coffee-room not being prepared), at eight o'clock, I went into St. James's Park, where I saw St. James's Palace, Carlton House, formerly the residence of the Prince of Wales, afterward George the Fourth, and the Duke of Sutherland's princely town-house. At the foot of Regent-street, as you pass into St. James's Park, stands the Duke of York's statue, said to have been erected by the voluntary contributions of the army. As I passed near the statue I overtook four small boys of nearly the same age, the eldest in appearance seemed to be about eight. I asked whose statue it was, but none of them could tell me. If monuments were erected only to the truly great, I think even boys would know them.

72. I was directed by some soldiers on duty in front of the palace how to get into the rear of it, where I found a common passage that conducted me within a very few feet of the kitchens, or some of the offices of this awkward fabric. I was told that these soldiers were gruff and uncivil, but I found them quite the contrary, as I did all the people

of England, with very few exceptions; so that, at last, I have come to think, that, if all people were put into one cage, like John Austin's little sparrows and great birds of prey, his cats, rats, and mice, and taught to be civil to each other, they would soon become so.

73. At nine o'clock I returned for breakfast, which was rather an early hour. At eight o'clock I repeatedly went to the coffee-room for breakfast, when I found the servants dusting the tables, chairs, &c. If the people of the United States suffer the fashionable part of the world to turn day into night, as the people of our cities are beginning to do, and as the people of England have already done, they will have to thank their own folly for it. In the United States the rational class, who are everywhere the labouring people, and by labouring people here I mean all the industrious and hard-working in every class, have the staff in their own hands, and may, to every reasonable extent, decide this matter for themselves; but they must begin early. It is easier to put things into a right train at first, than to get them back when they have for a long time gone wrong.

74. Having understood that the Horseguards were to be in front of the palace at eleven o'clock, I went there at that hour. Their station is called the *Horseguards*. Mr. Bulwer, in giving an account of the king's civil list, sets down three regiments of horseguards, eighty thousand pounds! I saw at this time but about forty, who were re-

lieving guard. The horses were beautiful and noble animals, jet black generally, with long tails; and I have heard that, when the streets are dirty and the flies troublesome, they disperse a mob simply by throwing about these long tails! Such a breed of horses is very much wanted in the United States! The men wore caps, buckskin gloves reaching half way to the elbow, and a steel breastplate. The seat of the saddle was lambskin, or something of the like kind covering the whole saddle, and as white as the driven snow. They wore boots reaching above the knee, and I observed that the toes of one were shod with nails, and I suppose that others may have been, in the same way. It is a general thing for the common people of England to be iron shod, for they are not able to buy more shoes than they want, nor ashamed to wear such as will last. I saw very few *paper* boots in England.

75. On my return through the park I saw five fine cows tied by the head. A milkwoman, who had the care of one or more of them, told me that the cows were milked there; that people came to drink the milk fresh from the cow's udder, and that there was no other place in London where they could get it in this way, or were sure of its being unadulterated. This practice of adulterating food that God gives to man to nourish and strengthen him for his labour is so dishonest and detestable, that one would not credit its existence, or suppose that one labouring man could have the heart to sell

it to another, if these poisonous compounds were not every day detected. In part first, page 80, I have stated, upon the authority of Accum, some of the facts set forth by him, to show the murderous extent to which this business is carried in England. There is not a little of it in the United States. This milk was sold at sixpence a quart, in pint and penny measures. The woman told me that the cows were pastured in St. James's Park, and that she paid for the pasturing of hers.

76. On the — day of June I took the same walk before breakfast at about the same hour, stopping opposite Carlton House, where I saw thousands of sparrows making their nests or tending their young in the fluted columns of this building and in the neighbourhood. They had been up and doing many hours before the people of London, for the shops of London are not open, generally, before half past seven or eight o'clock; a melancholy evidence of the overwork of the lower, and of the little or no work of the higher orders. The morning light in that high latitude, fifty-one, comes earlier than with us, and the evening light departs later. It was said in a London paper when I was there, that, during a short part of the summer, twilight never disappeared wholly.

77. The people of England are humbugged out of their money much easier than those of the United States, though there is a good deal of that facility here. Parliament paid Mr. Forsyth several thousand pounds for his tree plaster, a cement to put

over the wounds of pruned *fruit*-trees, and still the trees in St. James's Park are trimmed in a shameful way; the limbs of some as large as one's leg being cut several feet from the main stem, so that they can never heal. If cut at the main stem, the bark forms over the wound, and the tree is preserved. So it seems that his majesty's pruners have not been very apt scholars; and it exemplifies another thing pretty well understood nowadays, and that is, that nobody's trees are so poorly trimmed, or produce so little shade or fruit, as those of the public.

In the park I fell into conversation with a boy of the common class who was well dressed. I asked him if he had ever heard of America. "Oh yes," said he, "I have heard of a great *conflagration* there" (meaning at New-York), "and that the agriculture is very good." He having, no doubt, heard of our fairy land, the western prairies.

It is well known that the English common people do not treat his majesty's English as well as the people of the United States; they toss about the moods, tenses, and pronouns strangely. The young countrywomen, as they come out to get a place upon the coach, sometimes cry out, "Have you any places for we." I told the boy that we were a very happy people in the United States, and had a great deal of good bread and butter, and much cheaper than in London. This certainly was not true comparing London with New-York at the time I left New-York. But I meant to

speak of common prices heretofore in the country generally, and not to include these present mad times.

78. If the common people are interested in anything, they are in purchasing their moderate comforts with as little labour as may be, for labour with them is the only means of buying. The advantages of paper circulation have been so great in the United States, that it will never be dispensed with; and it is to be regretted that many honest people have been deluded by the idea of the possibility of an exclusive metallic currency. When, however, paper money is the *regulating medium*, *wages* do not rise in proportion as *prices* rise, as is notoriously the case at present (1837) in the United States; and then it is that the poor, who have *nothing to sell*, and nearly all who live by *wages*, suffer by a gross injustice. One of the greatest scourges that has fallen upon poor people in modern times is that of irresponsible paper money, which, by some bad management or other, cannot be converted into gold and silver. This inconvertible paper money is one of the great causes to many, not of *nominal* only, but of *real* dearness in those necessary things which the poor must have, which dearness is scarcity with them, and often little better than a famine. Those who are allowed to make any portion of the currency, which becomes a *debt* due from individuals or companies to the people at large, ought to be compelled to give the public the greatest security possible for

its redemption; and this will be best done through a proper system of *free private banking*.

The interests of a large portion of God's creatures, and by this I mean strictly the day labourers, those who live upon wages, the people of small property, are now, in our days, for the first time, considered by political economy. This is the true Christian civilization, the circle of which is growing larger and larger every day.

79. The boy of whom I have spoken told me that he was a pot-boiler in a public-house, and that he earned five shillings a week and his victuals. A boy who was filling water-casks for the purpose of watering the roads in the park told me that he earned twelve shillings a week; that his horses ate three pecks of oats a day, and as much chaff as they chose. This chaff was cut clover hay. This economical practice of cutting hay and straw for horses is extensively in use in England.

— June. This morning, before breakfast, I found at the door of our hotel an old man, who afterward told me that he was there attending upon his master. This man subsequently proved the only companion I found in these London hotels, where people, to be sure, go about with their eyes open, eat, drink, and sleep, but who, for all the purposes of companionship and society, are dead; and all this from a horror of getting out of rank, and of being compelled to know those who are not so rich and fashionable as themselves; as though there could be any other object in sending people

into the world but to know each other, speak to each other, and help each other.

80. Yesterday I went to church at St. James's, Westminster, Jermyn-street. I had been often told that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a seat, there being in these churches regular pew-openers for strangers, they expecting, of course, pay for this service. No seat being offered, I crowded in at one of the doors, and took my stand in a back aisle, where I remained till the sermon was about half finished. In this aisle were a good many common people, who seemed, by their dress, to be servants and other persons of the lower classes. Some of these were children, and some grown persons. The pews were so high that many of these people, who were near me in the aisles, could not see the preacher, nor did they attempt it; some, however, were stretching their heads over the high pews for this purpose. Others may think as they will, but these strong lines of separation between high and low, rich and poor, are not to my taste. I would rather see, as in the Catholic churches, the rich and the poor man's knees bent at the same altar. It is a very unchristian-like taste to crowd the servants and poor people in at the doorways, where they are placed in most inconvenient situations for hearing and seeing the preacher, or making their devotions profitable. The sermon was preached for the Burlington school of charity girls, in which it was stated that one hundred and ten were wholly maintained and

educated. It seemed to me that the sermon was a pretty poor comment upon the occasion. A prepared hymn was handed about, in the last stanza of which were the following lines:

> "By thy pattern, in thy name,
> Aid from brother men we claim."

"Brother men!" words of deep import; words that will make a prodigious change in our books of political economy some day or other, how great probably none can divine; words not so well, I think, understood in many things in England as in the United States, nor as well here as they should or will be. What sort of systems would Mr. Paley and Mr. Malthus have proclaimed had they written under William the Norman? That we cannot say. And what would they have written fifty years hence? Neither can we say that; but we may be pretty certain that Mr. Malthus would not then dare to tell the poor people of England that there was "no plate set for them" in that beautiful country, till he had told the rich people that they must first do all in their power to provide plates and food too, before they ventured to charge such barbarity upon nature. Yet the writers whom I have named were among the best of men, and desired to propagate nothing but truth. The radical defect of much of their systems arose from their living in a country in which they were educated to believe that no great change could take place for the benefit of the poorer classes. All true

political economy will certainly enlarge its plans for extending more and more the happiness of mankind, and making the words "brother men" not a name only, but a reality.

81. The sermon, so much of it as I heard, was a very indifferent production for a man of high rank; it dealt in many unmeaning generalities, as the importance of instilling into the minds of youth "specific principles, such as were taught in the Church of England," &c., a topic turned over and over, but of which neither young nor old could very well see the force. As this was a charity sermon for the benefit of poor girls who were to be educated, it occurred to me that a plain, intelligible discourse, teaching the high and fashionable people who were partitioned off by closed doors that there were other duties to perform in order to educate these young girls besides that of paying their money to "teach them to read, write, and cast accounts; sew, mark, mend, and make, and do household, kitchen, and laundry work;" that the highest of these was to set to their lowly brother men a personal example of Christian benevolence, temperance, chastity, humility, and industry; knowing that this example of the high teaches the low more than all the homilies and sermons of pope, bishop, or priest. The time for deluding the people in this way has nearly gone by; they draw better distinctions; they know that going to church, saying prayers, and giving money to educate them is but a small part of true religion; that, if a man means to make the peo-

ple holy, holiness must begin in his own household. The greatest mistake which the educated and exalted people are now making is in underrating the understandings of the common people.

82. One ceremony in this service was rather striking. As the preacher ascended the pulpit there followed him a person (I suppose the beadle) habited in what appeared at a distance to be a blue surtout, with a rich livery cape, who went up the pulpit stairs, opened the door, and closed it after the bishop had entered. This appeared to me a low and wasteful service to put a "brother" man to, thus occupying his mind with a frivolous, unnecessary, and, of course, degrading duty; it is but a common way of destroying the lower orders by putting them to perform acts that make them contemptible in their own eyes. It is a sure way of breaking down the spirit of a man. I was certain, before I left England, that I saw at work, in the minds of good people, of whom there are so many, that true Christian principle which will go on slowly but certainly to level those distinctions which pamper the pride of the great and demoralize the lower orders. The true Christian equalizing principle will do it, and nothing else can. Other causes will combine; governments, societies, equal laws; but this principle in the heart is stronger and better than them all by themselves. It is the principle of love towards "brother men," each seeking to extend to others those equal privileges which are followed with equal blessings, so

far as God intended, in this imperfect state, that they should exist. It is the sun shining upon the righteous and the unrighteous. All that the king, lords, and bishops in England can do to arrest the progress of this glorious principle will be like the outstretched arms of children to stop the winds and waves.

83. As I could get no seat, I went into the open area adjoining the church, where I found a man leading a little child; he seemed to have come out to enjoy the pure air and a day of rest. He was reading the inscriptions upon the tombstones in the churchyard. He told me that he was a tailor; that work in London then was much better than usual; that the average wages of journeymen tailors were about 15*s.* a week; that many got 25*s.* or even 30*s.*, which account was afterward confirmed by my tailor. In conversation upon rents, he told me that he paid 3*s.* 6*d.* in London for a single room, he having a small family. This is the same sum that I paid in Portsmouth for a bath! he paying 3*s.* 6*d.* a week for a house and home, and I the same sum for a plunge into warm water for fifteen minutes. These things are out of joint. It is plain that the poor need not be as poor as they are, and that the rich ought not to be as rich as they are, compared with the poor. In other words, the equalizing processes are going on, and will go on, but the people who are in greatest need of the result must carry them on. They must not, however, be deluded by gabble, by idle decla-

rations of pretenders to patriotism, who put the unction of soft words to their souls. Every great amelioration of the laws must be preceded by a moral and intellectual improvement of the people, which gives them independence of mind, property, and power. If a code was sent down from heaven to abolish test-laws, corn-laws, laws to authorize privileged persons to circulate irresponsible paper money, based on no security, and all other monopoly laws, that alone would not be enough; there would still be wanting the moral determination, temperance, prudence; the abandonment of the gluttonous, vicious, dram-drinking practices by which the people waste their property and make themselves slaves; there would still be wanting the virtuous, popular sentiment, to combine, sustain, encourage one another; and without all this they would soon find themselves back again in the old slough. It is by the combination of the working people to live religiously, simply, and nobly, that the world is to be regenerated. Let *combination, combination!* be the watchword!

84. There are, doubtless, a goodly number of humbugs in all countries. The distinctions of rank in England are nowhere observed more scrupulously than in the coffee-rooms, that is, in this respect; as no man knows the rank of his neighbour, he takes care not to let down his own dignity by speaking to his inferior. If this rule were transgressed, a peer might be found in conversation with a tailor; a sad affair, to be sure. This, then, is the

theory of society in England; that is, every man must stand on his own round of the ladder.

85. An English coffee-room in London or a large town is generally a spacious apartment, provided with small tables that will usually accommodate two persons, some more; these are set around the walls of the room, and often in the middle of it. Whenever a guest appears he takes one of these tables; sometimes you see three or four persons who are dining together as friends at the same table. I have called these coffee-rooms regions of the dead, and so they are to a stranger. No man speaks to his neighbour, as a general rule, though the legs of their tables may not be a foot from each other; not even when they sit around the blazing, cheerful fireside, so far as I saw. This is rather tantalizing, after thirty days of seasickness, to one who has come over the water three or four thousand miles to enjoy social pleasures and gain useful knowledge, and all because he may turn out to be a shopkeeper or a tailor; or perhaps it is the tailor or shopkeeper himself that declines the intercourse. This they call in England the etiquette of rank, which prevails to a degree not known in any other country. Some attribute this reserve to the unsocial character of the English, but that is not the case. I did not find it so; but, on the contrary, this barrier of rank out of the way, by a fair introduction, so that they may know who you are, and that you are entitled to their society, they become at once communicative, natural,

and pleasing. Men of knowledge are communicative, of course; they have something to say, and they like to say it. But in these hotels you are chained to your table and muzzled like a bulldog. If all these nice distinctions of rank be so important, it is a pity that so good a people as those of England cannot find out some more pleasing, natural, and useful way of maintaining them. They have a stupid little book in England, which, if I remember right, is said in the title-page to have gone through six editions, entitled "Hints on Etiquette, &c." In this work, which the unfledged newcomers into fashionable society, called in Europe *parvenus* or upstarts, and who are generally the greatest sticklers for rank, read with great attention, there is this very sage rule of manners, "Never make acquaintances in coffee-houses," &c.

After all, coffee-houses must be great levellers in England, for if the shopkeeper can sit in the same room with the great man, eat of the same food, ring the same bell, read the same newspaper, be obeyed as quickly by the same servants, and pay the same sum for his dinner, they cannot be a thousand miles apart. Coffee-houses, railroads, steamboats, and, it seems to me, nearly all the modern improvements, are making up a very pretty little machinery for subverting rank in Europe. It is nature, then, and science, and art, with a pure religion, that are working to bring men into that predicament of mutual love and assistance which eighteen hundred years ago was pointed out as their true condition.

If so, the old prejudices are striving against wind and tide. One would have thought that a two years' residence in the United States might have been sufficient to enable so sensible a man as M. de Tocqueville to come to right conclusions as to the working of this machinery! The people of Europe cannot understand us.

86. I crossed in a steamboat from Dover to Calais with a lady and gentleman who appeared to be of the higher class, but whether lord or lady or not, I cannot say, for I did not see their fingers. I think it is Lord Byron who says that long fingers or delicate hands are a mark of nobility in Europe, which, unfortunately for distinctions, means no more than that short thick fingers are the true hard-working fingers, such as we see generally in the country parts of the United States. I doubt, therefore, very much, whether the shopkeepers and scriveners of London, who use their fingers lightly and gently, as gentle people do, provided their great grandfathers have been shopkeepers and scriveners too, and their great grandmothers milliners and mantuamakers, have not as long and beautiful fingers as the nobility. I saw the Sioux delegation of Indians at Washington last fall (1837), who certainly had *noble* fingers.

The lady and gentleman of whom I spoke were seasick, their servants were sick, and their beautiful little boy being equally so, was taken in lap by a friend of mine who was once a shopkeeper, but is now dignified by the name of merchant, as high

a rank as he or any other man will, I think, ever attain in the United States. After all, seasickness, with the other natural infirmities of human nature, and our mutual and irrepressible wants, will finally open our eyes and bring things to about the right position.

87. In most of the English coffee-houses there is no common table as in the United States, but every man breakfasts or dines when he chooses *and upon what he chooses*, which, in regard to time, is a great convenience, and, in respect to economy, a great advantage. Let those who choose to live upon dainties pay for them. A common table, however, must in many other respects be more economical; fewer servants and less work being required to provide for a common table than for guests that call at all hours of the day. Our practice of a common table is adapted to the habits of our country and the equal condition of the people; at the same time, it is well that establishments upon both plans should exist; and this is beginning to be the case in the United States.

88. There is, however, in England a common table at some of the inns; it is in the commercial or travellers' room. These travellers are a class of mercantile agents, who go from town to town for the purpose of obtaining orders for goods from the mercantile and manufacturing houses. I was several times in these commercial rooms, which, I believe, are increasing; they were said in Paris to be increasing in France when we were there.

This is the natural and sure progress towards the intermingling of different classes, which must increase where trade and manufactures, which have social and equalizing tendencies, are advancing. So that it is apparent that those who undertake to keep up the old fabric will have a prodigious deal of work to do in repairs. The frogs are becoming so numerous that it is impossible to prevent them from creeping into kings' houses.

89. I was told that the salaries of these travellers might average about 200 pounds per annum besides expenses, which are calculated at about twenty-one shillings per day. When several of these travellers meet, and particularly on a Sunday, they make a social party at dinner, and I was told that it was common, upon such occasions, to choose a president for the day, and, after drinking a pint of wine each, to put to vote whether the company would drink more. I do not, however, pretend to be well informed as to the particulars of the social life of these travellers. Of one thing, however, I am sure, that such is the fashion in England; that it requires a pretty bold fellow to eat a dinner at a coffee-house without calling for wine or some other liquor; and that Englishmen at the hotels with which I was familiar drank a good deal more wine and liquors of all kinds than we drink in the United States.

If wine be ordered, I think that a pint is the more usual quantity for a single individual. There are a few who begin to think that water was made

for a gentleman to drink, but the number yet is small, and particularly in the hotels. They think in England, as we once did, that it is cheating the landlord not to call for his liquors, and that it is better for a man to poison himself than not to be genteel. Up to a certain extent, the wine a man drinks in an English hotel is a great criterion of a certain amount of rank. It looks so poor for a gentleman to drink nothing but cold water with his dinner, though his wine and beer be killing him by inches, that it requires very strong nerves to do it. To be poor in some parts of the world is nearly as bad as a crime; a crime in the Napoleon code of morals was said not to be as bad as a false step, for that made a man appear ridiculous. With such an iron despotism does this law of the fashion rule in these hotels, that I have seen men drinking their pint when I knew that the wine was a curse, and that their stomachs were already half burned up. Too much wine, as we know, has destroyed, within the last forty years, several of the greatest statesmen in England. I have seen a rich country squire in a hotel in a large town, who gave me an account of the ravages which that genteel disease dyspepsy was then evidently making upon his mortal part, drinking his pint; and upon my taking the liberty to say to him that I thought wine injurious in that disease, he averred that though he could not drink sherry, *port* did not hurt him, at the same time saying that potatoes were indigestible, that even *bread* sometimes gave him a heartburn and pain

at the stomach. Such is the madness of people who cannot, or will not, resist the fashions and their appetites!

90. The truth is, that in these matters we are far, very far from any right morality or just thinking. Who are the people that think wine indispensable in these hotels? who are they that lack the courage to let the servants see them drink water? who are they who often pay as much for their rich wines as for the rest of their entertainment? Why, taking the world together, though we may not know the individuals, we do know very well that gold is not drawn up from the mines in buckets; we do know about what proportion of these people can, without mean pinching, afford these luxuries; we do know that a large portion of them are just like the same class in the United States, who at the lodging-houses and hotels, yes, even at the country hotels and in country villages, drink Champagne from goblets! That large numbers at any rate, not all certainly, are those whom pride and poverty are fast leading to ruin, who can even now only just keep their heads above water; some are struggling to pay their notes from day to day, and dread a "panic" as they do a whirlwind; some are living upon the alms of rich friends; some are spending the little pittances that are barely sufficient to sustain, in decent comfort and honourable independence, their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters; some live upon borrowing; some are boys at school; some have just left

school at Oxford, or somewhere else, and as yet have not earned a farthing; some are mere striplings and clerks in counting-houses. This passion for doing as the rich do, eating as they eat, drinking as they drink, wearing such finery as they wear, is the same sort of madness as if these people were to sign, seal, and deliver a bond to sell themselves into slavery, and the meanest slavery, too, that can be, that is, slavery to masters who despise them for selling their birthright for a mess of pottage. Bad as things are, however, it is certain that a great economical process is going on both in England and in the United States, by which the people are breaking their chains by slow though sure degrees. Both street beggars and gentlemen beggars are getting out of fashion. It is to this spirit that all great reform is attributable. Property is the great engine of reform, property is the great engine by which nearly every great movement is carried on. As soon as the people of England come to feel that a ten-pound vote is better than a pint of wine a day, or a gallon of beer, they will get to understand the machinery of all good government. Notwithstanding what I have said about these hotels, all classes in England concurred, so far as I heard, in stating that there was a very striking improvement in the wine-drinking habits of the people.

91. It would seem impossible that any one should be alone in the midst of nearly two millions of people, and still that was my condition in these hotels. I had, however, one resource, and that was often a

conversation before breakfast with my old acquaintance at the door. This old servant was generally sitting in the morning watching his master's bell in the hall, which, being one among many, required an accurate attention to its call. He appeared, from his conversation, dress, and manners, a man of respectability, and to understand well the interests that belong to his class, which is to understand a good deal, for these are the interests of human nature. It has been the fashion of the world to call all these low ignorant people; the fashion will change, and the day will come when the test of sense will be the living more or less according to the laws of God and nature. He told me that the agricultural people in the neighbourhood of Plymouth were earning 9*s.* per week, the man finding himself; that the poor people of England were very discontented, that many were going to the United States, to Canada, and other parts.

92. June. I this day called, with my friend, upon one of the most eminent men in England for surgical advice; the interview with whom is of no moment to the reader, except that he confirmed the general statements as to the then great prosperity of England, and gave, as an evidence of it, the fact, that he knew of a vacancy in a steward's place worth 120*l.*, for which there were two or three applications only.

I think that if a vacancy were to occur in an office in the United States worth as much, there would be, upon an average, in the cities certainly

not fewer than twenty applicants for it. A friend in our ship told us that a gentleman, high in office in the United States, informed him that for a foreign consulate, not worth more than $1500 per annum, there were a hundred applicants. So it seems that there is good and evil in every country, and that compensation is for ever going on so as to make things more equal than we are willing to acknowledge. Heaven has not poured all its blessings into the lap of any one nation; and if we travel and find, in some particulars, what we do not like, we shall be sure to find good, if we look for it, in something else. We have not here, therefore, all the perfection that there is in the world, for I doubt whether there be any country on earth in which there is so much office seeking, or in which more mean things are done to obtain office, than in ours; in which opinion I may differ with many others in this particular, perhaps, that they may suppose that it is wholly confined to *one* party in politics, which is far from my way of thinking. As, however, not one in fifty or a hundred of all the people of the United States will ever be able to obtain office, I have no doubt that they will see the danger, and not suffer the trade in politics, which has ruined so many countries, to add this nation to the number of unhappy victims.

93. There is no pretence in the hospitality of England, of which we have heard so much, any more than there is in the roast beef and plum pudding. This hospitality, so pleasing to a stranger,

so benevolent in its character, that opens so many avenues to curiosity and useful knowledge, might be wide spread among all classes, if they would spend their money as rational beings, and not waste their souls in vanity and vexation of spirit; consuming in a single ostentatious feast or rout what would furnish a year's supply to pure and simple tastes.

True hospitality is not sensual or ostentatious; its pleasures lie in society, friendship, and good wholesome cheer; it gathers around its board people of different tastes and religion, and opens a natural, improving, and highly interesting source of knowledge with other countries, and the useful arts that belong to them. This is society and social intercourse in its most advantageous form, so that those that can enjoy it have many of the pleasures of travel at their own fireside; and, if rightly improved, it may be made one of the best means of education to our children. But, alas! with all our fine clothes, diamonds, and other bawbles, our dram-drinking, our overloaded tables, our "splendid" furniture, how few can afford the pleasures of even a simple and economical hospitality? This true kind of hospitality we enjoyed to-day. Neither upon this occasion nor at any other hospitable board did we hear that everlasting gabble about White top, Black top, Eclipse, Lynch, Brahmin, &c., &c., which we have in the United States, and mostly from those who never tasted a glass of good wine till they left their father's humble roofs.

Here we saw specimens of that neatness, order, and propriety in the servants (their costume was very different from that which we see in some of our ship "*palaces*" and "*splendid*" hotels), the furniture, the table, the courtyard, of which there are so many in England, and which are well worthy the labour of the people.

The road upon which we came out from London about six miles seemed as hard as a rock, the wheels of the omnibus not making the least visible impression. A man in the omnibus stated that the top of the road was covered with a stone brought from China as ballast, which statement was repeated to us.

CHAPTER IV.

94. The people of the United States are fast gaining good ideas upon political economy, and this without any other teacher than their own equal condition. A people doomed to labour will naturally look sharp into the philosophy of it; they will find out, sooner or later, what is productive and what is unproductive labour; what is to them profitable, and what is not. The first aim of the people here should be to obtain *respectable things*, good houses, gardens, clothes, roads, schools, education for their children, &c. It is where these *respectable things* are in most repute that there is the greatest industry and trade. This is true practical equality. It comes from freedom, from entire liberty to every man to exert his genius as he will. If a man, then, desires a larger house than his neighbour, let him have it, but let it be the result of his genius and industry, and not of a legal privilege which is refused to his neighbour. Do not let it proceed from test laws, or corn laws, or bank laws, or any other laws by which one man is able to pay five pounds for his dinner, while another is dining upon a crust of bread. I saw one day in the famous cemetery in Paris, Père la Chaise, fourteen men

who were making a road, twelve of whom were dining in the shade upon *dry bread!* Nor was the five-pound dinner a *very* expensive repast for a party of gentlemen at the Clarendon Hotel, in London, according to their own modest boast. And how many of these gentlemen could afford five pounds for a dinner if the natural equality prevailed; if God's laws, not man's, had the sway? Think of a man's eating and drinking to the amount of twenty-five dollars in an afternoon, even allowing what you choose for his being served from gold and silver, and in a palace, which the Clarendon is not! But the worst of this kind of gluttony is, that it proves that labour is not free; that a man cannot exert himself where he will and about what he will; it is proof positive that there are unequal privileges, for how comes *so extensively* this immense disproportion between the price of one man's dinner and another? The people of the United States ought to be ashamed of this expensive sensuality and abhor the causes which produce it. It literally takes bread from the mouth of labour. If the people of the United States will live simply, naturally, and healthfully, and hate the fruit, they will soon root out the tree which bears it, and then their labour, which is their money, will be spent, first for the necessaries and proprieties, and afterward for that beauty and magnificence which gives fulness and completeness to the enjoyments of the whole. Then, too, the ranks and orders propped up by vanity and pride, the finery, the bawbles, the

"*adulterous* trinkets," the expensive gluttony, and ruinous drinking, which now confuse their judgments as to the natural rights of their fellow-men, will fade away from their imaginations for ever. By productive labour, then, I mean the *most productive*, and no working man ought to admit the thought of any other for a moment.

95. In part first of this work, chapter twelve, section one hundred and ninety-four, some of the most prominent causes of poverty are stated; it is said, among other things, that one of the greatest causes of poverty is, that there are so many who do not produce the means of living; that labour is the great cause of the wealth of the world; that it is possible to turn the whole earth, that can be cultivated at all (even Wimbledon Common or the Hampshire Downs), into garden ground. That the reason, then, why so many are wretched or not comfortable, is either the want of labour or the right sort of labour. That the labour of many is wholly, or in part, misapplied; that is, they work at the wrong things (at a Clarendon five-pound dinner, perhaps); their labour, therefore, brings little or nothing to pass: in other words, that their labour is in a great measure unproductive, yielding little or nothing of utility or real good to anybody. That it produces neither food nor drink, nor clothes for the body, nor any real delightful desirable pleasure to the mind, compared with what it might produce. That there are thousands who do not produce the means of living; on the contrary, that some of these

(like, for instance, the gentlemen who dine for five pounds at the Clarendon), in the way in which they do live, wickedly and stupidly consume all that thousands produce. That it is this unprofitable, contemptible labour, which naturally creates so much disgust among the poor, and produces so many idle and vicious people, as is the case among the grooms, pampered servants, and other unhappy classes of people in England.

96. In connexion with the same subject, it is stated in the same chapter, that where bad government, bad religion, and monopolies exist, rendering the people poor and miserable, it is because they work to a disadvantage. That in such cases they are compelled to labour for the king, for the nobility, for the priesthood, for the favoured who enjoy the monopolies, in ten thousand frivolous, contemptible, and unprofitable occupations, which are attended with little or no real good to the labourers. That this explains the unexampled prosperity of the United States compared with other countries, the people here being permitted to work for their own benefit; to work for property at such occupations as are useful to themselves, thus being able to enjoy the produce of their labours. That, as the prosperity of individuals depends upon the utility of their labour, inasmuch as individuals make up nations, those nations will be the richest and happiest where the *useful occupations* prevail. That many work to little more advantage, so far as regards the

prosperity of the whole, than if they laboured at digging ditches and filling them up again, or in pumping water out of one cistern into another, and so back again for ever. That when a poor man is hired to disgrace himself by such a waste of his time, though he may earn a dollar, he does not in any way, in the long run, help the condition of other poor men like himself by increasing property for the general good. That though he earns a dollar in wages, it is as true that another loses a dollar; that as between them both, having created nothing new or useful, nothing exists more than there was before.

97. The design of this second part, as already stated, is more fully to illustrate the truths above summed up, by observations made upon what I saw in England; thus endeavouring to show, by plain illustrations, what kind of labour, in the present state of the world, is *most productive;* for that is the real question, and the mighty dispute about productive and unproductive labour is mostly a dispute about words. All labour, directly or indirectly, is productive of some good to somebody or other, and the only common-sense inquiry is, whether the labour does the most good that it can do. If all labour produces something, the question arises, what that something is, what is it good for, who wants it, or, rather, who ought to want it, or to have it. The journeymen and apprentices who make E O tables, and the grooms who prepare horses for the Jamaica races, earn *wages;* that is getting some good out of labour; but the question with a man who is compelled

to work ten or twelve hours out of twenty-four should be, if that be the only good that can be got out of labour. The people of the United States are teaching the Old World several new lessons. For instance, how much happier every creature is for labour of some kind or another, and, therefore, how much happier the whole must be; and the difference between one kind of labour and another.

98. Adam Smith saw all this when he foretold what this great democratic empire was to be, though it would not do then to proclaim it as plainly as he foresaw it. His voice has been ringing in the world's ears for sixty years, but it is only now in the United States that he is listened to, reverenced, and followed. He was compelled to write for statesmen and politicians; for the people when he wrote could neither read him nor understand him. As to the thoroughbred politicians and office people, they are the last to look to for any very valuable lessons in economy. There are a few eminent exceptions.*

99. Adam Smith was the father of the science of political economy; we are now reaping a rich harvest from the seed which he sowed. The first edition of his great work, "The Wealth of Nations," was published in the years 1775, '6. Well might it be called the "Wealth of Nations." Smith's discoveries on the earth were like those of Newton in the heavens. But it is as the friend of American liberties that he is entitled to peculiar love and reverence here.

* This mention of Adam Smith is taken from a newspaper notice of him published by the author heretofore.

In our darkest days, when the people of Stockbridge were leaving their cocks of hay standing in the field, and rushing to the relief of General Stark at Bennington, he predicted that we could not be conquered by force, declaring "that out of shopkeepers, tradesmen, and attorneys, we were making legislators and statesmen, who were forming a government which was likely to become one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world."

100. "A touching incident in the life of this great and good man had wellnigh deprived the world of the benefit of his labours. He had been carried by his mother to Stratheny, on a vist to his uncle, Mr. Douglass, and was one day amusing himself at the door of the house, when he was stolen by a party of that set of vagrants who are known in Scotland by the name of Tinkers. Luckily, he was soon missed by his uncle, who, hearing that some vagrants had passed, pursued them with what assistance he could find, till he overtook them in Leslie Wood, and was the happy instrument of preserving to the world a genius that was destined not only to extend the boundaries of science, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe."*

101. We shall never arrive at any thorough-going public or private economy, or know anything of the amount of comfort which this fruitful world is able to yield, till the great class of beings who work mainly with their hands are taken into the account in all our plans; till this class realize that

* Account of the life and writings of Adam Smith.

all property, public or private, may be made to redound to their benefit; till they scorn those contemptible enployments by which they earn wages alone, and do not increase property or enjoyment. This is only to empty one pocket and fill another; they may get along like snails, as they have in Europe, upon this principle, but they will never "go ahead," as the people of the United States design to do. The idea which has crept into the European political economy, that it is sufficient if the labourers earn wages, if they live, if they subsist, if they keep body and soul together, is an outrage upon human nature. Upon this plan, it is sufficient if a man and woman, husband and wife, are employed, get wages enough to feed and clothe them, and bring up two children to take their places when they are dead and gone. Some think they do a mighty fine thing, and very charitable too, when they employ poor people, "and keep the money snug at home," as they call it, let the work be what it may. It was but the other day that there was an account in an English paper of the Duke of St. Albans flying hawks. This was anciently a great sport in England, called falconry. Falconry was making a hawk, after long training, fly at and kill other birds. It seems that the duke, in a joke, was threatened with a prosecution for trespassing upon other people's grounds while flying his hawks. This attack upon the duke excited great indignation (not the trespass, as it ought to have done), and a vote of thanks was passed to the duchess for her *magnificent charities;*

it being stated at the meeting "that each time the duke flew his hawks he spent £500, and that during her stay the duchess weekly expended from forty to fifty pounds among the flymen." It is the multiplicity of these contemptible employments that fills an American with so much disgust. When idle gentlemen spend their money in this way, it only serves to make the poor idle also. It is ten to one that the half of this money is spent upon beer, gaming, and carousing, for there is nothing that sooner leads a labouring man into these courses than the consciousness that he is meanly and worthlessly occupied. But these barbarisms are fast disappearing.

102. After all, the great question is this: What is that labour which most tends to create property? and by this we mean noble enjoyments to the great body of the people being spread here and there, as the dew falls from heaven. Is it in flying hawks? As long as the titled people of England can make a parade about such charities as these, they must in vain expect to keep up with the people of the United States.

Productive labour, then, is the labour for a rational being; it is this which, by equalizing property as far as it can be equalized in a state of freedom, produces the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This is called the "greatest happiness principle;" it is an emanation from God himself; it is the very principle upon which he acts; and though he has suffered evil, sin, and misery to exist in the world, he doubtless designs to bring out of them the greatest happi-

ness possible to his creatures that is consistent with his views of infinite benevolence. Nearly all the plans of happiness devised by the governments of this world have been conceived and carried on for the benefit of a few only, such as kings, princes, masters of slaves, and a small number of rich people. These plans being equally mean and selfish, most of them have failed; the rest are failing. It is from the absence of the true divine principle that people have carried on their work with slaves, instead of using their own hands; and this is the reason why, after six thousand years of labour, so little has been accomplished; why so much of the earth is yet a desert, a jungle, a swamp overgrown with weeds and thorns. This, then, is the reason why the poor agricultural labourer in England is earning only ten shillings a week, while the Duke of Sutherland is said to have an income of a thousand pounds a day. This is a common report in England as to his revenues, though probably a gross exaggeration; still the riches of many of the privileged people in England are prodigious; and the disproportion in riches there is so great and so extensive that it never could exist in a state of freedom.

103. By productive labour, then, I here mean that which results in the greatest amount of virtue and happiness of the people, which, no doubt, will, in the long run, end in their greatest riches. And by riches is meant the true, durable, exalting riches, that of which every man gets his natural share, not that which pampers the pride and sensuality of a few,

but such as give the greatest bodily comfort, and noble, social, intellectual enjoyments to the whole.

104. There are two kinds of property, one for the mind and one for the body; many kinds of property contribute to the wants of both. The spectacles which enable me to read are an unspeakable blessing to my mind, but they do not sustain my body; the garments which I wear are essential to my body, though not to my mind. Riches, when virtuously used, are synonymous with the greatest good of the people. Nothing but the mean uses to which property has been put, as in the five-pound dinners, the covering servants' heads with wigs and their bodies in rich liveries, and so on, could ever have made even the most ignorant of the people enemies to it. It is not the property that they hate, but this disgraceful application of it. Nothing else has ever so much confused their judgments as to the intrinsic value of it. To impute to the poor a general wish to destroy property is a gross libel upon human nature; it is against a man's instincts. The amount of property destroyed by the poor is a drop in the bucket compared with what the rich have destroyed; the poor have been the destroyed, not the destroyers. If the rich expect that the poor will respect property, they must teach them to do so by their own example; for if they rob, who can prevent the poor from stealing? All property ought to contribute to the public good in some way or other; it supports the poor by giving them wages, and the greater the property the greater the wages, other things being

regulated as they should be. After all, it is a most heart-satisfying pleasure to recollect England, the good people who open their doors and spread their hospitable boards for you, and to know that many of them have spent their riches wisely, modestly, and in a way still farther to increase the true riches; if this were not so, England would not be magnificent England, but cursed Ireland perhaps, or, if possible, some country more wretched than Ireland.

105. It is not easy to say what country loves bawbles most; but this may be safely affirmed, that savages and other ignorant people are most taken by them, and waste *proportionably* most of their money on them; and that, as nations pass upward through the different stages of civilization, they spend less and less upon these trifles *proportionably*, so that the best evidence of things going forward is to see gewgaws losing their hold upon the imaginations of the people, and the more solid pleasures taking their place.

106. These are some of the characteristics of property. 1st. There is property which is designed to last, and be permanent and useful, conferring happiness upon body and mind, or both, for a longer or shorter time, such as farms, cattle, tools, houses, pictures, gardens, books, &c. 2d. Property, in regard to which it is designed that it shall not last, but "that the fashion of it shall pass away" as soon as possible, so as to give room to some other extravagance of the like kind. This

kind of property is made with the express view of enriching some at the expense of others. It consists here very much of that immense mass of bawbles, finery, and pretty things imported yearly for the use of fashionable people, which, to be sure, nearly the whole people use according to their ability. In the year 1836 I saw at New-York such articles as the following: silk stockings at $12 the pair; ladies satin dresses with a silk embroidery at $80 the dress; a single dress of Mechlin lace for $500; a wooden box lined with silk and richly perfumed, to be the receptacle of ladies' pocket-handkerchiefs, for $40; ladies' cloaks at $80 apiece; a single box of laces, about 2 1-2 inches high, 8 inches wide, 15 inches long, said to be worth $2000; pocket-handkerchiefs at $50 a piece, and so on. The buyers and sellers of these pretty things are not people who enjoy lordly inheritances; on the contrary, their practice is to divide their property equally among their children, or nearly so. New-York is a city which, after being settled about two hundred years, is now making, for the first time, an effectual effort to introduce pure and wholesome water for the people, and which, as yet, is not as well paved or lighted as London, that owes its portion of a debt of eight hundred millions sterling. This is a city which has now (1837), as stated by the newspapers, three thousand paupers in her poorhouse. Here is an immense demand for that unproductive (unprofitable) labour which Mr. Paley, Mr. Malthus, and others think indispensable in Eng-

land to stimulate labour, create enterprise and industry, and circulate money; and this will be quite true, too, in the United States, unless the people can get higher desires into their souls than for these gewgaws. Here is cause enough for our every now and then sending to auction laid-down coaches, eighty-dollar chairs, and the second or third set of fine furniture; cause enough for "panics," "pressures," broken merchants, broken banks, broken-down families, sighs, tears, and disgrace. If the rational people of the United States do not put their heads together and provide some better way of "paying labour, stimulating industry, and making money circulate among the poor," it will not be because they cannot. If they can, then Mr. Malthus's and Mr. Paley's political economy in this particular is not wanted in the United States. It is a pity that the people of the United States cannot be weaned from these foreign, aristocratic toys, considering what a grand material they have to work upon at home. Oh, what would become of trade, what should we work for, if not for fifty-dollar pocket-handkerchiefs and the little wooden boxes so exquisitely lined with silk and richly perfumed!

107. The pretty things I have above mentioned are, after all, poor trash, compared with the magnificent bawbles of England.

In going up Ludgate Hill in London, my friend stopped at the famous shop of Rundell and Bridge. Upon saying that he was from the United States (which we always found passport enough), and that

he wished to see the establishment, a clerk gave himself up for that purpose. Among other things, my friend was shown a set of diamonds, bracelets, and earrings, valued at £70,000, about $350,000; the clerk informing him that there were instances, when noblemen married, of their paying £10,000 —$50,000—for a set of diamonds. He showed a number of brilliants of various prices, and the model of the Pigot diamond, about as large as two thumb nails, which Mohammed Ali bought for £30,000. He verified the old maxim, "that all is not gold that glistens," by saying that there was very little *gold* plate; that what is called gold plate is silver gilded.

The Pitt diamond was purchased for £130,000, and is now said to be valued at twice that sum. It was lately in the handle of the sword of Bonaparte. Many of the richest diamonds are obtained in Brazil, where they are procured at an immense expense of the labour of poor slaves; and then it is the labour of the poor men and women of England by which they are bought of Brazil. In the early history of Virginia, it is said that Captain John Smith obtained from the Indian chief Powhattan two or three hundred bushels of corn for a pound or two of beads. Mr. Burke says that the rich are the trustees of the poor; it will be more to the purpose when the poor become their own guardians. Rundell and Bridge will not then be able to exchange their diamonds for as many days of poor people's labour as at present. It would be better for us if all the jewellery in creation was melted into one shapeless mass of deformity,

than to allow it to consume so much as it does of the labour of the world through an accursed vanity and pride, sustained only by unrighteous privileges.

How far the privileged system has stupified the moral and intellectual faculties of the higher classes by indulging them in indolence and pride, and by debasing the lower orders through servility and mean labours, can never be known till the world has got rid of it.

What, then, is the argument as to the people of the United States decking themselves in jewels? It is quite true that, in order to buy jewels, we must raise cotton, sugar, wheat, &c.; that this makes us industrious, and gives us trade, which is a good thing. The only sensible question is, whether the jewels be *the best things* that we can buy with our labour. Powhattan bought beads with his corn; we only buy a costlier toy. With such a glorious country before us, and so much real poverty, it would seem that the question is answered.

108. It is really worth our while, then, be we rich or poor, to know what labour brings about, how much it adds to what there was before, what it produces, whom it helps, and how much it helps; and particularly at a period when, in some way or other, we have so mismanaged matters, that not a few are turned out of house and home, and are obliged to begin the world over again.

109. Some people keep game cocks, and some game horses; what difference there may be in the dignity of the occupations they must decide between

railroads, canals, and other commu
parts of a country stand as nearly as
the same footing of equality, inste
a half barbarous condition, where all
manufactures, and riches are confine
places on the sea or the rivers. T
things is now advancing very rapidly in
States. Equality of prices in provi
remarkable in England, and much gre
the United States. For instance, beef
London markets for eightpence a pou
were there; while in the remote cou
never found it below sixpence halfpen
erally as high as sevenpence. Most
ketable articles are in something like
tion. But we know that in the Unite
difference of prices, where the differ
upon carriage alone, is much greate
price of carriage, then, that produce
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wheat in the county of Ontario, about
miles from Albany, at the head of
was not worth more than thirty-seven
cents the bushel; whereas, at Albany,
not probably, for fifty years past, beca
than the double of that price. But it
advantages which good roads impart to
trade, manufactures, and agriculture, wh
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them. As to what is said about improving the breed of horses in this way, every one knows that the main thing with these gentlemen is gaming; an exciting occupation for those who have nothing else to do. In the rearing and providing for these game horses, barns, stables, &c., are to be built, farmers, carpenters, masons, &c., to be employed. The colt is treated like a child, being trained at an immense expense of grooms, &c.; and all that some idle gentlemen, who have never been taught the true dignity of labour, may have something to do. What an occupation! I shall hereafter make some statements, though very inadequate they must be, of what it is in England, and how far this, with other kindred causes, have made about one eighth part of the people there paupers, and so pinched the greater part of the remainder, that life with them is nothing but an uneasy, troubled, anxious, feverish existence. It is a wonder that our people, considering what they have done and can do, should not reject these European follies.

110. The condition of labouring people has been so miserable, that it has led us into the most absurd ideas as to what they ought to do and can do. In England, it has appeared to be a great charity to support them; and it has been thought enough by people of property and political economists to give them wages, to employ them in any way. This we may see fully set forth by even as good and great men as Malthus and Paley.

The gentlemen who keep game horses, fly hawks,

pay fifty dollars for pocket-handkerchiefs for their wives and daughters, are, no doubt, more or less under this delusion. It is true they do some good with their money; they set people to work, they give them occupation, they keep them from idleness, they pay wages, they preserve them from the poorhouse. All this is good; but do they do all the good they can with their money? for this is the bounden duty of every man. Is it enough to set a man to work? There is another question: Is it not important what sort of work he does? And there is another very important inquiry, which the *labourer alone is to answer*. Is he an American labourer; has his independence secured him a choice of employment; and, if so, does he do all the good he can by his labour? Is it as well for him, and for other labourers like him, to be employed in keeping game cocks, game horses, flying hawks, making fifty-dollar pocket-handkerchiefs, distilling whiskey to be drank in tumblers as decent people drink water, as to work in a way to create some useful property? When wages are given, and no property is created by the labourer, or pleasure communicated that is becoming a man, and that he is entitled to, property only changes hands; the rich man gives and the poor man receives; it is merely the exchange of property for labour; but the poor man creates nothing that is *worthy of his labour*. When the poor man works only to get wages, as the grooms and riders of the game horses do, it is plain enough that there is nothing in the world more

than there was before. Besides, this sort of extravagance, folly, and madness is catching; for as the rich man spends his money, so does the poor man. I have heard of many a strike on account of hours and wages, but not because of the contemptible, unworthy, wasteful employments in which labouring men are every day engaged, which would often be more to the purpose. Any man who has seen the unhappy, helpless-looking poor people of Manchester and various other parts of England, must acknowledge that they have many excuses for consenting to work in ignoble employments which the labourers of the United States, where independence is so easily obtained, have not. There is no valid excuse of poverty here, in most cases not the least; here a man ought to be ashamed to soil his fingers with any dirty work. It is this unprofitable labour, it is this dirty work, that will account for the miserable condition of the world. We can easily say why one eighth part of the people of England should be paupers. We were told there of an individual who had exhausted a property which gave him an income (no doubt every penny of it employed in setting people to work in some way or other) of forty thousand pounds sterling a year upon brood mares, the turf, and in the hells of London. What a disgrace that a man should be born into the world, and so beautiful a part of it as England too, leaving it just as he found it, even worse, so far as he is concerned, creating, producing nothing, not a plant, shrub, tree, or anything of value, either by the use

of his hands or his mind, thus dying a pauper, and leaving nothing but his pernicious example.

111. Now let us reverse the case, and consider that kind of labour which not only brings wages to the labourer, but property or virtuous pleasure to the employer. Here two parties are benefited; the labourer has gained something and the employer something. The labourer has his wages, the employer the house which the labourer has built, the crop which he has produced, or the flower which has been caused to expand. But this is not all which the labourer gets when property is produced; he is inevitably a sharer also in the property, directly or indirectly, for it is impossible to create property without benefiting the whole society more or less; perhaps the house that has been built is for the accommodation of the labourer; if it be a crop got from the fruitful earth, he will certainly find an advantage; if there be many such crops, food will be abundant; if abundant, cheap; and in this every man is interested. If property is created, then every poor man knows there is a fund out of which roads are made, schoolhouses built, and poor children educated. Nothing is more certain than that wages are generally in proportion to the prosperity and riches of a country. *The number of the whole people, compared with the riches, is no doubt a very important point*, but that need not be discussed here. Where there is a great deal of property there is a great deal of work to be done; England and the United States are proof of that. When a country

is prosperous and great profits are made, then it is, of course, that property is increasing most rapidly, and then also wages are highest. The labourer, then, who lives by wages, has a certain interest, though sometimes an indirect one, in all the property that he creates. He earns something more than wages, he does something more than make property shift hands, something more for himself than obtain the dollar which his employer pays him at night after his work is done. The uses of all property should be such that the poorest man that lives should feel, as by a kind of instinct, that he is interested in the creation and preservation of it.

112. It is greatly to be lamented that the poor, the labouring people, the working men, and all people cannot fully realize that every increase of property by virtuous labour is for their advantage. It is true enough that this increase may not have been obtained in a way most favourable to their rights and interests. It may have been got at a most unrighteous expense of the health and happiness of the labourers; and still the accumulation is a good; it is a new fund to work with; it is a new mine opened, a new tool invented or created. It is very true that every such increase may not to-day or to-morrow be used wisely, or to the greatest advantage of those whose labour produced it; but the time will come when all property will be useful, it may be the next year, or the next generation, for the benefit of our children or our grandchildren. The labourer may be certain that it will become, some day

or other, an engine in his hands. The great thing is to improve the world as fast as we can. Much as every man may contend for his own ideas of economy, there can be no doubt that we know little yet as to what is the best form of laws or society for the accumulation of property or the right use of it. We may be pretty sure that, if we introduce good things into the world, good will come out of them. Let us, then, be candid; and, if we differ, get from the collision all the truth we can, which is often the golden mean between two extremes.

113. As all agree that some kinds of labour are more productive, more profitable than others, let us see, then, how the fabricating of fifty-dollar pocket-handkerchiefs or grooming game horses compares, for instance, with working for the public on a canal or railroad. As one of the people, the labourer is actually a part owner of the railroad; he is a partner in the concern. His labour not only gives him wages, but property wholly independent of his wages; and if a man who works for the public does not know this, it shows that he is a very ignorant citizen; and if he does not realize it, reflect upon it, and place a due importance upon it to himself and family, it shows how unthinking he is. A poor man, such as the greater part of those are who do the labour on our public works, and who is, of course, compelled to economize, can now travel on the Erie Canal for one cent and a half per mile; from Albany to Utica, about one hundred miles, for a dollar and a half. Before that canal was built there was no way in

which he could have travelled that distance for less, probably, than twice that money, unless he went on foot; and then, if the loss of time, extra meals on the road, and destruction of shoe-leather be considered, the cost would probably be double that on the canal. Here, then, is something to be got more than wages. Besides this, the transportation of provisions is cheapened in something like the same proportion, and certainly the poor man is interested in getting his food as cheap as he can. I have left out here the delights of travelling, of cheap intercourse with friends who are separated from us, and the glorious object of connecting this great country together with iron bands; all which are worth considering, be a man rich or poor. At any rate, they seem to be worth as much as fifty-dollar pocket-handkerchiefs.

114. We see, then, how much every man is interested in increasing property, which may be laid by for future use. Fifty years ago there was neither railroad nor canal in the United States; even had the people known how to make them, they were too poor to make them. Not only the rich, but the poor now enjoy better food, houses, clothes, &c., than then. This is owing, in a great degree, to the increase of property produced by the poor men who have in the mean time worked for wages. It is the increase of property which now enables the richer part of the people, or the capitalists, to build those railroads and canals which the public do not think it expedient for them to build. This property is

what has been saved yearly beyond what has been spent by the whole people.

It is, then, by labouring at a business which not only gives wages, but yields property to others, that a man becomes the member of a rich community like that of the United States, where, though he be a very poor man himself, and, perhaps, a destitute stranger in the land, still he sees such amazing industry and enterprise, so many public improvements going on, so much money stirring, such prodigious prosperity among the whole people, that, with prudence, he may hope, and with reason, that he shall be a sharer in these wonderful riches, though he may get a portion far less than his industry and virtues entitle him to.

115. Let the labourer, then, in the United States understand his position, look up like a man, and learn that he was created for something else than to earn wages from the rich man and make money fly; that there is something else to be done here besides working for those frivolous objects, that in Europe seem to be the great aim of life, that disgrace our name and standing with the world and the age in which we live.

How few trace out the consequences to themselves, their wives, and children, of virtuous, profitable labour on the part of the whole people! How few are able to say, when the sun has set upon their labours, "I have done a good deed; it is doubly blessed; I have not only earned a dollar for myself, but one for my employer, in property, or some vir-

tuous pleasure that is an equivalent; I have not wasted my time and destroyed my health in fabricating, polishing, burnishing finery to deck out his person, to gratify his pride and vanity, in ministering to his gluttony and lust; I have not acted the part of a slave, exhausting my nature in waiting upon his midnight parties and revelries, nor in leading about game horses for idle gentlemen from one racecourse to another; among EO tables, gamblers, and drunkards, where labouring men are soonest corrupted and destroyed; I have performed no labour but that which is demanded by the various and virtuous wants, tastes, and conditions of mankind; I have replaced the dollar which my employer paid me with a profit; I am one of the producers of the riches of the world; I glory in that: I have been useful not only to myself, but to others; though a poor man myself, I have been working for the benefit of other poor men; by increasing property I have done all I could to equalize it; I have performed one of the first duties that God has assigned me here on earth; I am a happy man." There is no fancy in these ideas; they are but plain truth and common sense upon the subject of economy, and will sooner or later be realized in the United States. How soon would they change the face of the world, if the heads and hearts of labourers and their employers were thoroughly imbued with them! how mean and selfish would it then be thought to employ one's fellow-citizens or creatures as we often do at present!

116. What, then, is the conclusion? 1st. That

most of the disputes about productive and unproductive labour are idle, because so good is the Creator to man in his state of ignorance, that he has caused all, or nearly all labour to be attended with some advantage or other, either to the employer or the employed. The real question is, what is the *most productive labour?* It is better that the savage should be industrious, produce corn, and buy beads, and even whiskey with it, than not work at all; but then it would be better if with his corn he bought hoes and ploughs, grew more corn, and built a good house with the proceeds; so it is better for the people of the United States to work for good houses, gardens, clothes, and education for their children, than for finger-rings, earrings, bracelets, feathers, flounces, fifty-dollar pocket-handkerchiefs, fine capes to their coats, &c. And then, again, this is better than working for shiploads of brandy, rum, gin, whiskey to drink as they would water, or for rivers of beer, as the people of England do.

2d. That, as the American labourer has a choice of employments unknown in the Old World, the first object of his life should be to secure, through care, economy, and a good education, that independence which will save him from defiling his hands with any unworthy work, or with any that is not connected with his own advance in property and prosperity.

CHAPTER V.

117. In chapter eight, part first of this work, there is a statement as to what wealth is. It would be out of place to repeat those definitions here; most people know very well what it is without any such assistance. In chapter nine there is a very brief statement as to how wealth is obtained; and in this respect, also, people of common sense know that labour can only do it; that it is labour added to labour that makes either an individual or a nation rich. A nation gets rich as a farmer gets rich; and if the nation, taking the people altogether, spent their money as wisely as the farmers do, it would be better for them.

In chapter eleven the subject of consumption of wealth is treated of, or, in other words, the question is answered there as to what must be consumed, and what can or cannot be laid up. It is stated that there are two kinds of consumption, "productive and unproductive consumption." That it is productive consumption when a farmer consumes his food and wears out his clothes in ploughing, reaping, &c.; the food which he eats and the clothes which he wears out are consumed; the seed which he puts in the ground also perishes, but his food, his clothes, and his seed reappear in a new crop: that it is unproductive consumption "when an idler or drunk-

ard consumes his food and wears out his clothes;" for they produce nothing. A horse in the stable will eat his head off, as the saying is; but a horse in the plough will pay his own way, and something more. In chapter twelve some account is given of the causes of poverty; among other things it is said "that one of the great causes of poverty is, that there are so many who do not produce the means of living." In section 202 there is the following statement: "There is a large class of vicious employments; these do not simply leave the world where it was, but make its condition worse." Some of these have already been alluded to. "Men who are employed in keeping and fighting game cocks, or in training horses to game with, or who spend their time in manufacturing and selling little pieces of red or blue paper, which they call lottery tickets, are engaged in occupations that are at once contemptible and vicious. These do not add to the general store by which the wealth of the world is increased, but they lessen it by corrupting themselves and their fellow-citizens, and thus taking away their working faculties. The working men who follow at the heels of these horses and their gaming owners do not understand what they are about; they have not studied their own interests."

118. In England no subject is either talked or written about more than its pauper laws. Much is said in English political economy about the duties of the poor; what shall be done with them, where they shall be sent, and something, although far less, what

the duties of the rich are towards the poor. They wonder, as well they may, in the richest country in the world, how one eighth part of the people come to be paupers. They cannot see how there should be such prodigious riches in the midst of such disgusting poverty. In this puzzle they attribute the poverty of their poor people to their bad poor-laws, not recollecting that there must have been many paupers before bad poor-laws were made for their provision. They lose sight, then, of some of those *first* great causes of poverty, against which so many shut their eyes. They forget that one of the greatest of these is the destruction by the rich of the riches which the poor create, and that the poor, in their turn, through bad example, are led on to the same destruction.

119. Mr. Hume says that idleness is the greatest of all causes of poverty. It is certain that the industrious must support the idle; nothing can be plainer. There is no cause of idleness like that of a man's knowing that he is working for others, and not for himself; and there is no cause for industry like the consciousness we have in the United States, that we are working for ourselves, our wives, and children. The puzzle of poverty would be in a great measure solved if the idle rich would remove from poor people their poverty-making example. We should then not want, certainly not for generations, any of that ingenious political economy by which the poor people of England are taught that it is best for them to abandon their neat comfortable cottages,

their green fields, their fertile lands, their beautiful hedges, for a frozen, inhospitable desert in Canada. This may be a very necessary economy to be taught in England as things are, but a stranger who has seen Old England, with all its beauties and glories, must think this a very hard lesson for the poor people to learn.

It is time, then, that we begin back at the beginning, and see if there are not other lessons first to be taught. This inquiry may be of some use in the United States, where *horse gaming* is just coming into high fashion. The labourers may put an end to it if they will, and to that *beautiful* array of EO tables under the Jamaica stand, by their own virtuous public opinion, without any legislative tinkering; and it is for them to determine whether they will or not.

120. On the — day of July, 1836, we left London for Holham, in the county of Norfolk, the residence of Mr. Coke, one of the firmest, most constant, and enlightened friends of American independence, whither we went to see its agriculture, for which it is more famous than any part of England. Newmarket was on our route, sixty miles from London. We left London at 7 o'clock A.M., and arrived at Newmarket at 2 P.M., the coach stopping twenty minutes for breakfast on the way. This I suppose to be about the average speed of coach travelling in England. In the economical use of time, the roads are but little inferior to railroads.

121. A man who does not, in travelling, open him-

self to an unrestricted intercourse, loses half its benefits, and more than half its pleasures. There is no one so uninstructed that he cannot give information to a stranger in a strange land. I adopted one practice invariably in England, and that was, under all circumstances, in omnibuses, cabs, hackney-coaches, in the streets, in London, on the highways, in the country, to enter into conversation for the purpose of information with people of all classes; and I can say very truly that, so far from having met with any rebuff, rudeness, or insolence, I found nothing but gentleness, kindness, and alacrity to answer my inquiries. To be sure, I generally prefaced them with saying, "that, being a stranger in those parts of the world," I begged the favour of asking about this or that. More generally I stated myself to be a stranger and an American, and this I am sure, in many cases, was a passport to pleasing attentions; for though the English see in us many things they do not like, they find many which they do; there is a certain respect which they do not wish to conceal. Our English descent (for how can a people fail in esteem for those who have come from their own loins?), our history, our deeds, our unexampled enterprise and increasing wealth, all claim the regard or admiration of an Englishman. Pursuing the plan I have mentioned, I received instruction from many cabmen, servants, and boatmen, and found on board a steamboat, *without introduction*, some of the kindest and most interesting friends that I met with in England. Indeed, if an American will shut

his eyes, open his heart, and rid himself of the silly vanity and selfishness of being tormented about his own personal importance in England, where not one in a thousand of his countrymen has any, or can have any, he will hardly know half of the time that he is out of his own happy country.

122. On our coach were two jockeys on their way to Newmarket races, which were to take place in a few days. Newmarket is, or has been, the most notorious place in England for horse-racing. Races are held there seven times a year. Charles the Second built a seat there. One of these jockeys was the famous Chifney, a man of rank in his line in England, of *quiet aristocratic* manners, who is as well known in England in his line as Lord Lyndhurst is in his. By his side sat another, of very different calibre, who always addressed his superior as "Sir." The gradation of rank in England is a curious riddle. Chifney told us that racing was not declining in England; as to this, however, we heard different accounts, and so various that I am at a loss to know how the fact is. At Cambridge I went into a saddler's shop, and, upon examining some racing saddles, and inquiring about the state of racing at Newmarket, the man told me that racing had certainly declined there; that many formerly used to come over to Cambridge to lodge during the races for the want of lodgings at Newmarket, but that this was not the case at present. After we arrived at Newmarket we understood that Chifney had failed; that a commission of bankruptcy had

been taken out against him; that his plate was said to be worth three thousand pounds, about $15,000. I doubt whether there are five gentlemen in the United States who have as much.

123. There are, doubtless, some articles of plate for common purposes that are useful and economical; but that such immense masses should be set aside to be exhibited upon great occasions to show how rich we are, and, of course, how poor our neighbours are, is but a miserable use of the property in the world. How poorly are the greater part provided for? how few of them possess houses, lands, gardens, flowers, books? how many that cannot afford a decent education for their children or pay their taxes? how many delicate, well-educated, noble-feeling people are driven to such straights as not to know where to get a dollar, while these gorgeous, costly things, obtained by the degradation of the people, are resting unsoiled in solitary grandeur! If the rich were overruled in these vanities by a pure public opinion, what immense additional masses of property would be applied to useful purposes! This would not at all interfere with the rights of the rich, and would only turn their minds to the correct use of their property. It was said in the papers the other day that the plate exhibited by the Duke of Wellington at his Waterloo banquet on the eighteenth day of June last was valued at $1,500,000. If the account which I heard of the agricultural condition of his estate was true (if not, it does not affect the argument), it would be much more to the purpose

to turn a part of the plate, at least, into money, and the money into carts, horses, and ploughs, for the benefit of those melancholy-looking, eye-sunken people, his fellow-subjects, of whom I saw so many in England. Let no man be so simple as to suppose that the people of the United States are indifferent to the glory of these aristocratic bawbles. The glory is too expensive for most of us; but though the idols are few, the worshippers are many.

124. In England the magnificence of the riches of some can only be exceeded by the poverty of the many; and how is this to be accounted for? What sort of a *productive* labourer is Chifney in the political economy of England?

Being very desirous of getting information as to everything interesting in England, we went the next morning after our arrival at Newmarket to his house. We found a beautiful residence; a pretty garden appeared to be attached to it; a high brick or stone wall in front of the house, with a bell at the gate. This house, with the walls and outhouses, I think, would cost twice as much as any house, with the outhouses, &c., in our county of Berkshire. Chifney was not at home, but was out "*wasting*." Most people are very desirous of keeping the flesh they have upon their bones, for generally it has cost them dear enough. But not so with the jockeys; they can let it come or go, as they choose. *Wasting* is a preparation for riding at a race by getting rid of more flesh than is wanted, the man bringing his weight down to the required standard. For this

purpose he puts on three or four flannel shirts, as many pairs of drawers, stockings, &c., and in this dress he walks out five or six miles, and as many back, the perspiration all the while streaming from him as when in a vapour-bath. So we make money fly; these *wasters* are considered by many essential in England, in order to keep the rest of the people at work.

125. It is a wonder that these jockeys, riders, hostlers, and horse people of every description in England, do not see how they are for ever kept in the stables. That it is by their gaming, their dissipation, and following for ever at the heels of the profligate gentlemen of the country in all their wasteful extravagances. Nothing is more fatal to a common man than gaming; if he falls, there is no one to pick him up; the gentlemen can bear the fall; if they lose their property, they do not go to the workhouse; there are rich relations to uphold them, and then there has been a government in England to support all broken-down gentlemen by giving them offices in India, in the army, in the navy, in the colonies, or somewhere. But let the common people rescue themselves from this degradation; it is in vain to call upon the rich, upon Hercules; let them put their own shoulders to the wheel. The worst governments in the world are founded upon the vices and ignorance of the "lower orders," as they call them in England. Let the people in England, then, get knowledge and virtue by practising temperance and economy; forsaking beer, and dram-

drinking, and horse-gaming; let them get property; property will give them votes; votes will give them privileges, and then they will be able to make such a government as they choose; then they will deserve the best, and not before. Property is the great lever that moves the world; if the people are to be disenthralled, they must work off their own chains. This is the way in which the people of the United States have advanced, and this is the only way in which any people can. The times have changed; the people in England, here, and everywhere, must work out their own salvation. If a government fit for angels was now given to the people of England, or to any other people, they could not sustain it, they are not fit for it. Far enough shall we be from such a government, if the rich, idle gentlemen can lead the people about from one racecourse to another, as they do their dogs and horses. My object in making these statements about horse-racing in England is to show to the people of the United States distinctly what a wanton waste this practice is of their property, and how scandalously immoral and base it is to pamper a horse while a fellow-man is starving. A gentleman, who is now advanced to an honourable old age, told us this story: That, as soon as he got out of his minority, his father being one of the gentlemen of England, but not rich, told him that he might go to Newmarket, and for that purpose gave him a horse worth about a hundred pounds, and the same sum for his pocket. That the first night of the races he went to "hell" (so the ga-

ming houses in London are called) and lost his hundred pounds; the second night he went to "hell" again, and lost his horse; that he then borrowed two or three guineas to pay his way home, and has never since been on the turf. From that period his life has been devoted to useful and honourable occupations. He told us that many of the nobility of England were running through their property at a great rate. It is thus that a sure process of regeneration is going on in favour of the working people. What a call upon them for increased efforts in favour of economy, temperance, and everything that gives value to a working man! How prodigiously it would push the working people forward in the United States if a thorough contempt could be got into their souls of the wasteful follies of the wasteful part of our rich people!

126. The extent of this horse-gaming, and the immense expense at which it is supported, can hardly be conceived of by those who have not been in England.

The morning after we arrived at Newmarket we went to see one of the training-grounds. It is said to belong to the Duke of Rutland, and that each horse that is trained upon it pays a guinea annually towards the rent. It appears to be a barren heath; but who can say what is *barren*, if these idle nobles, instead of spending their time in the stables with horses and hostlers, would try their ingenuity upon it, as we have upon *our* "barren" lands with plaster and clover? If plaster and clover will not bring out

the natural fruitfulness of the earth, something else may. Barren as this land is at present, Heaven must have intended it for some sort of cultivation for the benefit of the poor people of England, and could never have designed it for so worthless a purpose as that to which it is applied. This heath, in one view of it, is not unlike, in the form of the ground, some of our high beautiful prairie, being skirted on the right, as you leave the town for Norfolk, with a growth of pine or some kind of furze.

As I came on the ground I saw at the distance of about a mile, and on what appeared to be the summit of a hill, a number of objects indistinctly in very slow motion. The view was so uncertain, the objects being in close line one after another, that in a desert they might have been taken for a train of camels bearing burdens. I soon made them out to be horses with riders upon a very slow walk. In other parts of the ground I saw afterward other squads of horses, some here and some there, scattered in all directions. I think there were not much fewer than fifty. We were told afterward that not less than 350 or 400 race-horses were kept at Newmarket through the season, and that, when we were there, there might be two hundred and fifty. The horses on the ground were ridden by boys. This is a part of their training, the horses having then been out from 4 o'clock in the morning; when we saw them they were all on a very slow walk. The books giving an account of the training of these horses state that it is common to take them out at this hour.

127. The riders being mere lads, there is often an older one put over them, who is then called the boys' lad. As we were retiring from the ground we saw one of these boys' lads, whom we asked to show us his stable and horses, which he declined, saying that it was not allowed, "as improper things were done." These "improper things" are called technically "poisoning horses for the race," a kind of fraud that has crept into very common practice, and is now so common that we were repeatedly told that these frauds and cruelties would finally put an end to racing, by rendering skill in training and the speed of the horse of no avail. Before we left England we heard of a case in which a noted horse called "Plenipotentiary" was "poisoned for the race" by giving him as much water as he would drink shortly previous to running, and which nearly destroyed him in consequence of his greediness, it being a common practice to stint horses in their water for some time before running.

One would not suppose it possible that the gentlemen of a country, the hereditary legislators, the owners of those beautiful fields, those green hedges, those superb palaces, costly parks, would consent to mix themselves up with sports necessarily attended by such low frauds and petty villanies as we know this horse-gaming and all gaming to be.

Before we left the ground a young lad showed us to Lord ——'s stables, he taking a shilling for going with us perhaps half a dozen rods. The lower orders in England, in consequence of their poverty, and

being kept down by these gentlemanly vices, never scorn receiving any money for any service, however trifling it may be. These favours are received from the gentleman with cap in hand, and to us it was a source of perpetual grief to see men in such an abject state. I have seen three brawny fellows, who were in an open brick enclosure of high walls attached to a jail, who, upon being addressed by the gentleman who accompanied me, invariably threw up their hands, and, for the want of caps, caught hold of the elflocks that hung over their foreheads as a mark of respect. It may be said that these outward signs of respect are mere arbitrary conventionalisms, and prove nothing. This might be; but in England there are too many other proofs of the abject state of the lower orders, in their manners, voices, countenances, in their poor wages, and consequent poverty, to allow any doubt of the fact. Mutual self-respect lies at the foundation of all virtue and freedom, and is not to be found in Europe as it exists in the United States. The gentlemen of Europe may write about political economy, but they can never make their communities great, rich, and happy, like those of the *free* United States, until they have infused souls into all classes of their fellow-subjects, and until all men shall work with alacrity, as those do who know that what they work for will be their own, for their wives and children, instead of being thrown into the mangers for the horses or the kennels for the dogs.

128. The principal groom at this stable took from

us as a gratuity half a crown, his services being graduated by his superior rank. We found three ranks in these stables, and how many more there may be I know not. The lad, the boys' lad, and the groom; but they must all find employment, and what can the gentlemen do better than support the poor people by the money which the poor people earn? This groom showed us ten or twelve horses belonging to his stable, most of them being two year old colts. Each had a muzzle made of tin and leather to prevent him from biting the manger. They have a good practice of tying their horses in the stables. The halter is run through an iron ring fixed in the manger, at the end there being attached a small block of wood, so large that it will not pass the ring; this being done to save the horse from injury in getting his leg over the halter, as is sometimes the case in our mode of tying. The groom showed us two racing saddles, one weighing nine pounds, the other twelve; at Cambridge a saddler showed us a saddle which he said weighed but five pounds. These horses were fed then on hay and dry oats only. Three of the most famous trotting horses in the United States were sent to England, Tom Thumb, Rattler, and Rochester. Rattler and Tom Thumb were at Newmarket. The groom showed us a picture of Tom Thumb, Mr. Osbaldiston driving. This gentleman figured at Melton Mowbray, as may be seen in the account given in the Quarterly Review of fox-hunting there. Rattler deserved a kinder fate, for he died on the

spot at Newmarket, having reached the goal in triumph, driven by Mr. Osbaldiston. The English acknowledge that no such trotting-horses as ours are known in England. Great trotting requires great strength and speed; so it seems that there are other modes of improving the breed of horses besides that of keeping them to game with! What a miserable excuse for gaming and taking the bread from the mouths of the poor!

It does not require any great knowledge in economy to know that these grooms, lads, boys' lads, and horses might be better employed; that they might be better occupied in ploughing and digging even the poor lands at Newmarket. Miserable as these are, they would produce a little, and that little is to be taken into account in a country where the poor every year tremble lest storms and rains should bring famine among them. Every account which we received of these horse people in England represented them to be, including masters and owners, among the worst in it.

The contrast between these disgusting sights and what is pure and noble in England, of which we saw so much, presents us an idea of different races of men.

We had the other day a specimen of the degradation to which the gaming part of the nobles of England (for it is happily only a part) are reduced, in a report in the London Times of the 12th February, 1837, in the case of Lord de Ros vs. Cumming. The plaintiff brought an action of slander against the defendant for accusing him of cheating in play-

ing at cards in one of the hells of London. The attorney-general stated that his client, Lord de Ros, was at the head of the English baronage, and equally distinguished for his descent and virtues. It appeared that the parties played whist; that some of the cards were marked with the plaintiff's nail; that, with some French legerdemain, and the aid of paralytic hands, a fit of coughing, and holding the cards a little below the table when he dealt, he always had the extraordinary luck of turning an honour, which, as all whist-players know, is a great advantage in the game. The plaintiff was defeated. In the course of the trial one gentleman stated that he had won thirty-five thousand pounds in fifteen years.

We were told, by one who had a right to know, that the nobleman whose stable we saw at Newmarket came to an estate worth not less than forty thousand pounds sterling per annum, with two hundred thousand pounds ready money (a million of dollars), and that he had got through nearly the whole of it. A gentleman by the name of Craven, sixty years of age, after a race at Epsom a few years since, where there were said to be collected a hundred thousand people, and where he lost £36,000, blew out his brains. Upon the whole, everybody knows that horse-racing in England and here is nothing but a fashionable sport got up to enable the gentlemen to gamble and pass their idle time.

After all, political economy is a common-sense affair, for there is nothing like virtue, temperance, and industry to make property either for an individ-

ual or a nation, and nothing like vice, intemperance, and gaming to destroy it.

Sports are good; they are social; they make us stronger, happier, and wiser; we have too few of them. But, to be right, they must be simple, economical, and innocent pleasures. There is no country in which there are so many idle gentlemen as in England, whose regular business it is to kill time. The English have racing, hunting, shooting, fishing, archery, coursing, cricketing, rowing, yachting, and others. They had pugilism, but the increasing humanity of the people has nearly put it down, and so they will turf-gaming in its turn. There are but few who see how the world is going on; none but those who are in motion themselves can see it.

129. No person who has not been in England, or read its books giving an account of horse-racing, can conceive of the immense waste of time and property involved in pursuing this sport. There are twenty places mentioned as the principal racecourses,* some of them being graced by the presence of royalty, the kings of England having been great patrons of this "noble sport." In gaming very few escape contamination; the whole system being one of stratagem and deception, even among those who pretend, according to the laws of the turf or the gaming-table, to observe the laws of honour. Every one who has been familiar with a gaming-table knows it. George the Fourth, while Prince of Wales, was ac-

* Brown's Turf Expositor.

cused of the most dishonourable conduct on the turf. His friends denied the charge, and we hope truly. But think of the "first gentleman" in the kingdom, and the ruler over more than one hundred millions of people, falling under such a suspicion! This was the man who, in the last periods of his life, when his heart should have been poured out in love and tenderness towards his people, used to ride in the lanes and by-paths of Windsor Forest in order to avoid the sight of them.

130. At Ascot, about twenty-five miles from London, we got down from the coach at a little country inn. Being unable to get a conveyance, I walked to Sunning Hill, an old man of about seventy years of age, a very melancholy-looking person, who was going on my way, undertaking to show me the road. We were soon in the neighbourhood of Ascot Heath, which is a racecourse. The old man pointed out the building used for the king's stag-hounds, the betting stand, and the king's stand. I asked him whether he had a wife and children. "No, thank God! I had a wife and two children, but they are all dead; thank God for it. These are hard times for poor people; I can only earn eight or nine shillings a week." This was an agricultural labourer, and this was about the average wages of agricultural labour at that time. But say ten shillings, and then you have about two dollars and fifty cents (the man finding himself) for the weekly support of a man, his wife, and children; to pay for clothes, fuel, house-rent, lights, meat,

bread, drink, doctor's bills, &c. Mr. Bulwer states that one third, or nearly one third, of every man's earnings in England go to pay his taxes. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement.

These gaming sports are, of course, at the expense of the labour of the country, for what else can sustain them but labour? An idle horse is for ever eating in a poor man's crib, and so are idle gentlemen too. Where, then, is the impropriety of a poor man's thanking God for taking his children out of a world, in which they must live to suffer by such a misapplication of the bounty of Providence as is constantly before our eyes in England?

It is high time that the people of the United States examine these vicious customs; for, after having had a certain growth, and people being long accustomed to them, even the best know not how bad they are.

131. There is a mania for horse-racing in England; wherever you go you hear of it. The king gives plate, and at Newmarket they have, or had, "the king's plate articles," by which the rules regulating running there are established. The seventh rule provides against foul play by the riders! What sort of a sport must that be where kings and gentlemen cannot prevent their servants from committing villanous frauds for the benefit of their masters?

132. While in England I saw an account of the Egham races, which the king was said to have attended. It was stated that the king made a *mag-*

nificent grant of "a free plate" (I believe a hundred pounds). The king was addressed, and returned an answer, stating that this was done to encourage "the rational and manly spirit of a free people." This is the puffy, grandiloquent language just fit for the occasion. So people and kings go on from generation to generation humbugging themselves, till a few, more rational than the rest, point out the ridiculous figure they are making. At *Tewksbury* (I think that was the name), on my way from Worcester to Manchester, great preparations were making for the races. We saw people on the road, men, women, and children, on foot and in carts, &c., hastening to the ground. At the inn in the neighbourhood where we stopped there were very respectable-looking and decently-dressed women, of an age at which one would desire to see them engaged in the nurture and education of their children, who had their hands full of cards for the race, which they offered us at sixpence apiece. All the persons inside the carriage agreed in the fact of the immense profligacy promoted by the races among the lower orders. I never heard a different account in England.

133. The author I have mentioned, though not over wise, is competent to point out the abuses of the turf. He regrets to be obliged to say that these have crept into the "thoroughbred system of racing," and that they are greatly in need of "a radical reform." Among these are *foul riding*,

gaming-tables under marquees gaudily fitted up, &c. At Ascot he says there are ten of these.

134. If you wish to see the most intelligent among the labouring people in England, you must go to the manufacturing districts. One of the most distinguished persons in office told us this, and we found it so. Such a fact ought to go far to diminish the fears of the people of the United States as to the evils of their manufacturing population. The growth of manufactures is inevitable here, and all that is left to us is to educate the manufacturing people as highly as we can.

At Manchester we were told by one of those working people, whom it is a happiness to know in any country, that the races in the neighbourhood of that place corrupt the people in a most shameful way; that a whole week nearly is given up to them by the operatives; that, during this time, many of the cotton-mills are stopped; that every device is resorted to by the moral part of the community to keep the children in the town; that, for this purpose, ten or twelve hundred are collected together in the Mechanics' Society Lecture-rooms, and amused with experiments in the airpump, electricity, &c.

135. By an act of parliament passed in the thirteenth year of George the Second,* it is declared, that any person who shall run a horse, &c., for

* As I cite from the book mentioned, I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the citation.

less than £50, shall forfeit £200. This shows the magnificent scale upon which this turf-gaming is got up. What a scandalous infringement of the liberty of the common people to make one law for the rich and one for the poor! Who will pretend that they do not use their money as wisely and virtuously as the gaming gentlemen?

136. I went to a country race about eleven miles from Reading, in Berkshire. Several races were run; one said to be for a ten-pound cup; one for a five-pound cup. Three horses started in the first race. It was a miserable affair altogether, as far as respected the race. The friend who was so good as to accompany me assured me that there was not a gentleman of his acquaintance on the ground. I had told him that I desired to see a fair unmixed specimen of the common people at a race, and it was plain enough that this was one. Still, if horse-gaming be an innocent amusement, why should not the gentlemen consort with the common people in their pleasures? why did God put the gentlemen and common people together in one world, rich and poor indiscriminately, but for the purpose of making them mutually useful to each other, and that they might teach each other lessons of civility, courtesy, and humanity? and how can this be done unless they sometimes come together and have common enjoyments? People seem to be blind to the progress of things, and afraid to open their eyes, lest the light should put them out for ever. But the

light is streaming in at every crevice, crack, and corner of that huge fabric of feudal barbarism erected by the Norman conqueror. From the moment it was finished, decay and destruction began, and now in England you may see plainly that it is tottering to its foundations.

There were probably a thousand people at this race. Many booths were erected, where fancy China-ware, toys, cakes, beer, &c., were sold. The people were neatly dressed with few exceptions; many labourers were in clean frocks, and, generally, there was much less finery than among our people. I left the ground at an early hour, and before the usual carousing upon such occasions begins. Though I was in the midst of the people in every direction, I did not see a drunken man.

137. What imbecility in the writings and opinions of a large class of men of learning, genius, and virtue, who set up as teachers of mankind! they know nothing of mankind, they have been acquainted only with ladies and gentlemen, and think that there is little worth having or enjoying out of that circle. In one of our passages, the ladies and gentlemen often played for money till a late hour in the night (a scandalous practice, and an outrage upon those whose sleep is interrupted), while the trusty sailors, at whose mercy we were, stood faithfully at the helm or the lookout. On one of those nights I read the following passage from Southey's Political Lectures "on the means of improving the peo-

ple:" "It is among the *lower classes* that those miseries, as well as those diseases are found, which become infectious to the community. The vices to which they are prone are *idleness*, drunkenness, *gambling*, and cruelty. Gambling is the least frequent, and might almost wholly be prevented, *were the magistrates to exert themselves and the parish officers to do their duty.*" Let us change the paragraph *a little*, and then see how near the truth it is; thus: "It is among the *higher* classes that those miseries, as well as those diseases are found, which become *infectious* among the *lower* orders by a pernicious example. The vices to which the higher classes are prone are *idleness* and *gaming*, which come from the misery of overgrown wealth, and having nothing to do; and *excessive eating* and *drinking*, which they call by any other names than gluttony and drunkenness. Which is the most frequent or most destructive of the happiness of the lower orders, it is impossible to say."

It is not the lower orders that *spread* moral infection in the community; that comes from a higher quarter; the lower orders are what the higher orders make them by example. When the upper orders become robbers of the privileges of the people, they teach the lower to be thieves upon a smaller scale; if the common people are playing thimble-rig, the gentlemen are on the same ground betting above the parliament standard of *innocent* gaming; and while the people are destroying them-

selves with adulterated beer and gin, the gentlemen are guzzling wine and hot whiskey punch. There is nothing more common in England than to see gentlemen in the hotels at dinner, and even sometimes a solitary individual, after drinking a half pint or pint of wine, crowning the repast with this vile compound. But the case is still more vulgar with us, for here this inebriating stuff is *sometimes* introduced even in ladies' parties, where Champagne and other delicate wines flow as freely as water.

But what is the remedy for gaming? Gaming might be prevented, says Mr. Southey, "were the magistrates to exert themselves and the parish officers to do their duty." This legislative quackery of whipping, cropping, branding, of appealing to magistrates and parish officers to make the common people virtuous, is pretty much scouted in the United States; and it seems, from the fact of the English and French sending commissioners to examine our prisons and prison-discipline, that, if we have made no other advance in the science of government, we have made some in the management of the "lower orders." We do not intend here to have one law for the rich and one for the poor; and this we think another advance in the science of government. It is, indeed, one of the grand onward movements we are making. The poor see the injustice of all but equal laws; they hate the makers of them, and then become ten times more hardened than before. If the history of the world has proved anything, it

is, that the improvement of the "lower orders" will be soonest brought about through the virtuous example and instruction of the higher, and not by the treadmill and the parish officers. Those of the higher classes who corrupt the common people by offences, for which they would hand them over to the "parish officers and the magistrates," such as gaming, &c., are themselves the highest offenders. The treadmill has proved a poor schoolmaster. I saw it in England; we have abandoned it. If purity is to prevail in the land, it must begin with those whose heads are not bowed down with ignorance, the temptations of poverty, bad education, and evil example.

138. I saw an instance in England at a court of sessions of the one-sided justice above described. A boy of seventeen or eighteen years of age was brought before the magistrates by his master, a farmer. The master being sworn, proved that the boy went out at ten o'clock at night against his master's orders, and stayed out all night. The boy did not deny the charge. It is proper to state that it was said he had once before been before the magistrates for some other offence. The magistrates sentenced him to one week's solitary cnofinement in the county jail. As I went out of the room afterward, I saw this boy in a little lock-up-place crying like a child, the tears streaming down his cheeks. Subsequently, in my presence, he was led with an iron chain about one wrist to the jail, in one apartment of which I saw common

felons on the treadmill. What ideas can such boys have of the morals of keeping *good hours*, when the ladies and gentlemen of London order their carriages for a route at ten or eleven o'clock at night, and roll home in them at daylight in the morning? When shall it be that we shall cease to have one kind of morals for the rich people and another for the poor? How soon shall we have one law for high and low? There was no reciprocal justice in this case. How many offences, equally heinous both in the sight of God and man, might not this master have been guilty of towards the servant without punishment by the magistrates?

The master told me that he paid this boy three shillings and sixpence per week, the boy furnishing his own food, and that this was common wages for such boys. This will show what portion of the good things in England is enjoyed by those who plough the fields, trim the hedges, and contribute so great a part of the labour which goes to bring forth that exquisite embellishment which there fills the soul with delight.

139. The world has been kept in slavery by its vices; the chains have been forged by the great, and the multitude have put them on at the word of command. As to those vices and vicious customs which have kept the people down and rendered them incapable of liberty, the people of the United States have made advances unknown in other parts of the world. They have done in a few years what Europe has not been able to bring about in

centuries. The people of the United States act with a full knowledge of these truths; and though they have made but poor progress compared with what might have been hoped, still the secret is discovered; moral reformation is the watchword, and constantly keeps alive that intense enthusiasm which drove them to these once desolate shores.

140. Gaming is one of these vices. It grows up naturally among the idle aristocratic part, and then descends to the labouring portion, who, being ruined by it in their independence and property, become mere tools, of course. A common man, a labouring man, who has neither property nor the desire of it, is fitted at once to be the slave of power and despotism. The people of the United States, with their clear sight, in a new world and pure atmosphere, saw at once the truth. They knew the theory, and had seen the practice in the Old World; that is, that vices among the people were not destructive of *despotic* government, but essential to it. Virtue and republicanism, therefore, with us are synonymous; we have no hope of the latter without the former. We all know that the creatures and minions of despotism look for their strongest support among the worst of the people. Their dregs form the armies. The people of the United States, therefore, have set themselves to work in earnest to put down those national vices that can be reached by public opinion, and which, through custom and fashion, become common.

Gaming is a remarkable case; intemperance is another; licentiousness between the sexes is another. I shall speak of these in their turn. He who in the United States, trusting to his riches, influence, and power, dares to spread these vices among the poor, ought to be marked and branded by public opinion as their destroyer. He is the enemy of free government and poor people, let his party name be what it may. The people can put him where he belongs; this is their real power, and far greater than any they have given to their rulers.

141. I remember when there was turf-gaming, and not a little of it, in some parts of New-England, and particularly in our own village, upon a large scale, but I doubt whether ten dollars have been lost or won among two millions of people in New-England upon a horse-race within the last ten years. I do not assert this absolutely, but can, that the *practice* of horse-racing no longer exists among us. If the gentlmen of the cities here should attempt to revive it under the idea of improving the breed of horses, they would be laughed at. This is the charm that works in the United States! The people would laugh, because they know that the breed of horses can be improved, if that is what the turf gentlemen have determined upon, without the aid of EO tables; without an enormous waste of time on the part of the gentlemen; of property on the part of the people; and without that brutality to the poor animal which goads him to death. There was, probably, never

a more contemptible idea got up by gentlemen at the expense of the public morals than this of the necessity of horse-racing to improve the breed of horses. It is not horse-racing nor the breed of horses that most of them desire (though there are, doubtless, public-spirited men among them that have these opinions), but the delights of gaming, of getting rid of idle time agreeably.

But it is not horse-race-gaming alone which is to be spoken of here. Every kind of gaming has greatly disappeared from among us in the country parts in New-England, and in the Northern states generally. I speak of these with certainty, because to these, upon this subject, my personal knowledge is confined. It is absolutely disgraceful for any class of people here in the country to be seen engaged in it. But the time was, thirty or forty years ago, when the passion for it was excessive; there was gaming in the smallest villages, in private houses, at the taverns, at the courts, at balls, dances, militia musters, and wherever there were collections of people. There is yet a good deal in the cities; but even in them there is an improvement, which, I do not doubt, is going on in every part of the United States, though in some, perhaps, very slowly. What a people are to do or to be is best known by comparing what they are doing with what they have done and been.

142. I have been more particular upon the subject of horse-racing in England, because it is one of the most wasteful of all the fashionable aristocratic modes of destroying the property of the

country; because gaming is one of the most demoralizing of all vicious practices; and because this vicious sport in some, though a few, parts of the free States is getting great popularity. The vicious, aristocratic sports are among the best devices that ever were contrived to keep the common people down; and it is a wonder that they have not always looked at them in this light. They rob them of their property, increase the number of poor dependants and the lower orders, and then make slaves of them, of course.

143. Nothing is more common than the mistaken opinion that it is a matter of no moment how rich people spend their money, so far as the poor are concerned, only that they spend it. The difficulty lies here; as the rich spend their money, so do the poor. "Like master, like man," is the old proverb. It is a mistake to suppose that, if the rich waste their property, the poor will get the benefit of it, of course. They may get the property, but they do not keep it; the great man's vices have spoiled them for that, and this is the grand difficulty in the way of the lower orders in England shaking off their chains. They are so extravagant, intemperate, wasteful, sensual; and still, no doubt, a great reformation is going on in these respects. A single age of determined virtuous economy in England among the people would wholly change the face of things there.

144. The true way to spend money is that by which the poor people, and all people, may not only

get, but spend virtuously more than they had before. If the idle horses at Newmarket were put into the plough at Ascot Heath, on the Hampshire Downs, and the other poor lands of England, so much the better for rich and poor. There would certainly then be more food than there is at present; and if the people did not increase in as great a proportion as the increased food, according to Mr. Malthus (of which I shall speak hereafter), the poor people would be better off than at present. It would not be so necessary as at present to send them penniless from the parishes to the United States, as is now most cruelly the case. If a man ploughs land that never was ploughed before, he hires labourers and pays them wages, and has one crop more than there was before; if he keeps a stable of horses, he hires the groom, the lad, and the boys' lad; he pays wages, of course, and what has he? Fine horses, their skins as sleek as polished marble, grooms and servants in abundance, to come and go as he orders. But there is the end of it. He spends his money and produces nothing; the world is none the richer for him; he is a cumberer of the ground; he will leave the world just as poor as he found it; he earns nothing; he does nothing to improve the condition of the poor; he does not make roads for them to travel on, nor open the bowels of the earth in search for coal to warm their houses; nor does he build ships or plough the land, by which poor people who want work get wages; by which work they pave the way for more work; and

thus there is an infinite succession of labour and wages. Hence flows an infinite succession of riches; and upon this plan they are always increasing. Upon the whole, there is proof enough that the world is in a disgraceful state of poverty, and that the people of the United States are beginning to understand the subject, and that they will take care that property is not wasted here as it is and has been in other parts of the world. They will soon find out that, even allowing that horse-racing, not horse-racing, but horse-gaming, does improve the breeds of some sorts of horses, it does not improve the breed of any sort of men; that horse-gaming is not a sport for hard-working people; that on the turf they are mere hangers-on, for they cannot afford to keep horses nor grooms, nor partake with the gentlemen in their lordly bets; that this is one of those high aristocratic recreations where the great body of the people who go to partake of it are looked upon as underlings, understrappers, a mere mob. How, then, is it to be put out of countenance? I answer, that the hard-working people of the United States have all power; there is nothing above or beyond the public opinion which they can create. Let them, then, combine, join hands, turn their faces the other way, and permit the gentlemen who own the horses to go to the racecourses with their grooms alone. This is an easy process, a remedy quickly administered, sure, and far better than all the legislative quackery in the world.

CHAPTER VI.

145. A voice has gone forth commanding the whole world to be temperate! to use the things of this world as not abusing them. It denounces drunkenness as one of the greatest curses; it orders the rich to set an example of godliness to the poor, over whom they have so great a control; and the poor to forsake all evil examples of the rich; to stand erect in the likeness in which God made them, and to forsake all those vicious ways by which they are deprived of their natural portion of the earth, its blessings and comforts. It teaches that the chain that is about the soul binds harder and cuts deeper than that which confines the body.

146. Let us make what parade we will in our fourth of July orations and election speeches about our excellent republican constitution, our free institutions, and universal right of suffrage, all will come to nothing without *temperance* in the people. From temperance comes property, and from property virtuous pleasures and independence. These are not gained without industry and economy, without spending a little less than we earn. There are hundreds and thousands of people now in the United States who, at twenty-one years of age, become citizens and voters, and still have nothing, or next to nothing; perhaps the clothes on their backs and some trifles.

For this, in most cases, there is no inevitable necessity. The necessity lies in the want of a noble determination. Suppose all the poor people go on spending all they earn from year to year, they must, of course, *remain* poor as long as they live. Doctor Franklin was once a poor man, and always a working man, that is, a man of honest, useful industry, which is the true idea of a working man. In London, where he went to make his fortune, he lived upon bread and cheese, instead of beer, to make him "*strong*." A story is told to this effect: A person applied to him to insert some vulgar, libellous matter in his paper. He said he would take it into consideration, and give an answer the next day. The next day came, and he gave *this* answer: "I went home, sir," said he, "and supped on bread and water; I slept in my cloak on the floor, and I breakfasted as I supped, and I think, upon the whole, that I can live without doing your dirty work." A man who is destitute should have the heart to live upon a crust of bread and cold water, rather than waste his strength in whining about poor wages and the monopolies and privileges of the rich, which the people here can always overthrow, if they have the true soul. No wages can save a drinking man from destruction; and as to the rich, they will keep their privileges as long as this destruction lasts. This general truth in the United States no man can gainsay; and that is, that neither a virtuous *man*, nor a *class* of such men, can be kept down; the stronger the pressure, the more sure they are to rise.

147. In part first, chapter third of this work, there is a brief history of property, in which it is shown that the common people have advanced just in proportion as they have gained property as a body. In the United Kingdom there are now about eight hundred thousand voters. This is a noble effort on the part of the poorer and middling classes, when you consider how they have been taxed, and how their earnings are wasted. When William the Conqueror became master of England, the whole landed property was divided among a few thousands. Since that time, the nation has advanced in those useful arts which distribute property wisely; for these arts themselves are great dividers of property; and here we see that there can be no assignable limit to the increase of property; for no man can point it out. It is easy to believe that a nation can be a hundred or a thousand times richer than it is, because we know that a civilized nation may be a hundred or a thousand times richer than a savage people. England may now be a thousand times richer than she was under the Conqueror; there is no way of ascertaining that exactly. One thing is certain, that all the common people were then little better than slaves; many were slaves, in fact. After all, riches are not worth a thought, but for the purpose of obtaining those material things which enrich the mind and purify the souls of the people.

148. It is high time for the people of the United States to think seriously of what they *can* do; to boast less and do more. The day has gone by for

teaching political economy aside from the character of the people. No man can get food and clothes for his family, and keep them well supplied, without virtue, sense, and temperance. The nation stands on the same ground: the common people, therefore, must turn their backs upon all the vicious and fashionable follies by which so much property is destroyed by the *wasteful* part of the rich, always taking care to distinguish between the rich who are faithful and make property and those who *destroy* it. If one man drinks more Champagne than he can afford, that is no reason why a labouring man should empty his pocket into the till of the grocer and tavernkeeper. It was never intended that all men should wear the same clothes, live in the same houses, drink the same drink, or eat the same food. It is a childish imitation of the upper classes that enfeebles the lower in the United States, and deprives them of a great portion of their power. It is this that hitherto has so much tended to take from them the means of carrying out, to their true ends, the principles of a free government. The labouring people, therefore, should learn the just harmony of their relations, as they would be taught fine music; it is in this way that they will find out what they can do for themselves. People complain of poverty; intemperance has been the greatest single cause of it in the United States; the next is covering up rags with finery, in order to appear like the rich and fashionable. If the people are childlike in their understandings, there will be bad government, of

course; for the cunning will do with them what they choose; if they are virtuous, there will be good government, of course. Many complain of monopolies and of government doing everything they can for particular classes. There is a power of preventing all this, of avoiding the accumulation of the great heaps to the destruction of the small; monopolies will then tumble down, of course, and the few very rich that remain (rich by comparison, for this is the only way in which we can speak intelligibly of riches) will prove a good example of what men can do by extraordinary industry, skill, and perseverance. To pull down the rich who become so in this way is to destroy the hen that laid the golden egg.

149. If a single individual is prudent, economical, and industrious here, in most cases he can obtain property; this gives him influence at the ballot-boxes and everywhere else; the same is true of a thousand and of the whole nation. Let the people, then, Heaven directed, work out their own salvation! let them keep their minds constantly turned to their pole star, the great principle of *a more equal division* of property, to be brought about by their own improvement in virtue. A more equal division, for two reasons: *First*, a more equal division is best in itself for the virtues it would bring forth, and the pride, vanity, and sensuality it would keep down. 2d. These virtues would increase without any limit that can be assigned the property there now is. The despairing, the hopeless, the miserable, of whom there are such multitudes in England, do lit-

tle or nothing to increase property. It is the unbounded hope here that gives such animation to the scene. There are many good and honest people in the United States who, guided by the experience of other countries, do not think that the multitude are fit for so ample a liberty as we have. Let the multitude entitle themselves to it by a respect for property, by moderation, by *temperance*, by self-government. If they can govern themselves they can "rule a city," and the work is done. Let the people, then, wherever gathered together, proclaim temperance *and shut up their dramshops.*

150. What, then, can we do here to push forward these principles? Much. I have stated in part first that a large portion of those who subsist upon wages in the United States could live comfortably, decently, and, in all material things, as well as they do now, and still not expend more than one half of their wages. Let it be a *third.* Reader, if you doubt it, take the average; examine the working people themselves. To this let there be added, the power which the *common people have over prices* in things that have respect to their common ways of living, which I shall endeavour to explain fully. If a man determines, in his own soul, that he will be independent, no power can oppose him; his will is his own, that he is sure of. If he lays up ten dollars this year, the next will see him in possession of twenty. If property is worth getting, it is worth keeping. Let the mobs of brutes, then, that go about trampling

upon the treasures of the earth, burning convents, throwing their neighbours' flour into the gutters, &c., be put down at once. In England, it was thrown in our teeth that mob-law had become the established code here, whereas we know that the people of the United States have been distinguished for their love of order, and that mobs have been tolerated for the moment only through our superior humanity and aversion to blood and punishment; that much of this disturbance has often been made by mere boys and ragamuffins under the influence of liquor, whom the breath of the rational people may destroy, as the dry leaves are scattered before the whirlwind.

151. The people of the United States have taught Europe the greatest practical lesson in economy that has ever been learned at all, and this is in showing how property can be increased, wages raised, the upper classes purified, and the poorer elevated by *temperance*. The people of England know nothing, scarcely, of what is going on in the United States in this respect, or of the results of it. If you tell them, they stare for a moment; but it is evident that what you say goes in at one ear and out of the other. There are interesting exceptions. It is equally true that the few people in Europe who have any adequate idea of us are astonished at the progress we are making in wealth, for there is no parallel among them. They account for it in their way of reasoning upon such a

subject by ascribing it to our working a new virgin soil, and so on. That is not the only or the greatest cause; for there are other new and virgin soils in countries where no such wealth is seen. The greatest cause is the improved moral tone of the people, at the bottom of which lies *temperance*.

A great moral and economical truth is very feebly illustrated by figures, but they may do something. If we suppose there are fifteen millions of people in the United States, and that each consumes, upon an average, *two cents* a day less than heretofore in spirituous liquors, including wine, ale, beer, cider, whiskey, &c., we shall have an annual saving in this item alone of 109,500,000 dollars. I think no one will deem this an extravagant calculation; but to this we may fairly add the time wasted; the health destroyed; the useful labours abridged; the money spent in repairing wornout constitutions; the property destroyed or diminished in value by imperfect work; by fires in ships, houses, stores, manufactories; by the neglect, carelessness, and recklessness of drunken people, and we shall have an amount truly incalculable! The world will know nothing of the magnificent provision made for the wants of all mankind till the privileged have ceased to oppress the poor, and the poor shall cease to oppress themselves by that stupid intemperate way of living and spending by which all have squandered their property and wasted their power. The poor complain of the ways of Provi-

dence and of the unequal distribution of the goods of this life. They will never know how generally comfort may be diffused till they have turned their backs upon the dramshops; till universal temperance shall strengthen their arms, and they have put their own shoulders to the wheel. No man knows what he can do in obtaining property till he has tried; and few will try in earnest till they see the true end of it, the godlike uses to which it may be applied. Still less do the hard-working people know how large a portion they might take, not by robbery or agrarianism, but by *temperance*, frugality, and industry (for here is the true agrarian code), from the great heaps of those who now, through folly and passion, consume so much; least of all do any of us know what enormous additions will be made to the *total* amount of property. Hitherto the world has gone on consuming nearly as fast as it has been producing, and all the while we have been complaining of Providence! The powers of nature are conspiring with the moral power, and God is evidently making new revelations to man of what he can do for himself. It is in very modern times only that the amazing forces of production have clearly made themselves known. Machinery is displaying its wonders; a steam-engine will perform what a thousand men could not. Is it not certain, then, that the mass of men may obtain for themselves the necessary supplies for a pure, simple, tasteful, healthful existence? is it not certain that the poor man is rising,

and will rise, if he enlists under the banner of virtue and *temperance?*

152. Some people in the United States suppose that the temperance reform is not growing; but it is as certainly growing as that the trees are growing; all know this who are in the habit of inquiring into the facts. The extent of it in great portions of the United States (I shall here confine my observations principally to the northern and northwestern states, to which my information principally extends) may be known from a few facts and considerations which can be accurately stated.

First. The farmers of the free States are the most powerful and influential body of men in the country. In part first, chapter third, in giving a history of property, I have shown what the tenures are by which farmers hold land in England, and that they are universally, or nearly, tenants holding from year to year, or for seven years, fourteen, twenty-one, or for life, &c.; that a holding for seven is probably as common as any other.

In the United States, on the contrary, nearly all the farmers are tenants in fee, and hold their lands to them and their heirs for ever. Of the cultivated land, the farmers hold nearly the whole by this tenure. Tenancies here are very rare. So that it may be said that the farmers *own* the country; and to what extent it may be asserted that they *rule* the country can only be well known to those who live among us.

153. Second. Previous to the temperance re-

form, which may be considered as not having advanced extensively till within about ten years (1830), it was a practice so general as to be called universal, for farmers not only to use distilled liquors themselves as a general beverage, but to give them to their hired men. These were most commonly cider, brandy, whiskey, and West India rum. These liquors were supplied very freely to the men at all seasons of the year, but in the harvest nearly without limit. A pint to each man was not uncommon, and many instances were known of labouring men drinking a quart or more in a day. As might be supposed, under the influence of such a practice, a large proportion of the agricultural day-labourers were strictly drunkards. This was far from being the case with the farmers, whose pure employment and general respectability secured them from such frightful consequences, and they were as temperate, at least, if not more so, than any other class.

154. Third. At present, a large proportion of these farmers are members of those temperance societies which adopted the pledge of abstinence from all *distilled* liquors, and some, of those which refrain from all *inebriating* liquors, having signed the total-abstinence pledge, and called in England "*Tee-totallers.*"

Besides, as to a great proportion of the farmers in the free States, it may safely be affirmed, that at present they do not give any spirituous liquors to their labourers; but, on the contrary, the

bargain is either directly made or understood that the labourer shall have none; and a very large number deny to their labourers any kind of alcoholic liquor, such as cider, ale, strong beer, &c. So that the common beverage of the labourer while at work is milk and water, vinegar and water, with an infusion of ginger, home-made beer without malt, molasses and water, &c.

155. Fourth. It has never been the practice in the United States for the master manufacturers and mechanics to give liquor to their labourers as it has for the farmers. Till the temperance reform it was a common practice, however, to permit their labourers to drink what they chose; and as all others drank freely, they fell into the general habit of indulgence. Now, a tacit or an express agreement is very general that the labourer shall abstain altogether while at work; that he shall drink nothing on the premises; and some go so far as to reject any labourers of whom they have proof that they drink ardent spirits at all.

156. Fifth. On most of the public works, such as railroads, canals, &c., there is a very general practice on the part of contractors, prohibiting by express contract the use of liquor on the premises. No doubt this stipulation is very often departed from.

157. Sixth. All statistical accounts upon such a subject, and particularly those that proceed from the ardent and enthusiastic friends of the societies, are to be dmitted with due caution. At the same

time, I believe that there are now more than 1200 strict temperance ships sailing under American colours. The London Times newspaper of the 15th November, 1836, contains a report of a committee of the House of Commons, showing the causes of the numerous shipwrecks of British ships, and, among other things, states that drunkenness is one of them, and that there are now more than 1000 temperance ships in the United States.

Seventh. There was a universal practice of drinking cider in the northern States as a common beverage in the same way, and probably to the same extent, at least, as beer is now drank in England. Among great numbers, this practice is wholly abandoned, and a very inconsiderable portion, if any, drink the same portion of cider as formerly. On the contrary, apples are now extensively used as food for animals.

158. Eighth. Previous to the temperance reform, the country shopkeepers were the wholesale sellers of nearly all the liquors that were carried into the country. They were also sold by them at retail generally. At present, a very large proportion of these shopkeepers, whose profits upon the sale of liquors were very large, have discontinued the sale altogether; some few keep a small portion of liquor on hand for sale in case of illness and other emergencies. Besides, there are a considerable number of temperance inns; and many of those who do not strictly keep temperance inns very honourably and conscientiously refuse to sell liquors to those

whom they know to be given to habits of intoxication, so that it is really no uncommon sight in Massachusetts to see drinking people go to a neighbouring town where they are not known to get their accustomed drams.

159. Ninth. Previous to the temperance reform, it was a common practice to put bottles of spirits upon all, or nearly all, the public tables in the inns, boarding-houses, steamboats, canalboats, &c., for which no separate charge was made. It is almost wholly discontinued.

160. Tenth. The force of public opinion upon this subject in the United States proves more than everything else. The devices and shifts which the most degraded people resort to, show it. It is the public opinion which drives them to these shifts that it puzzles M. Tocqueville so much to understand. The whole people here are hammered into one great chain, in a manner unlike anything which exists in Europe; if you touch one link you touch the whole.

In a neighbouring store, a man applied with a bottle half filled with the flour of sulphur for spirits, which he said he wanted as a medicine. As soon as he left the store he drank off the spirits, leaving the flour of sulphur as another heel-tap. I have seen a man go through the village with a pair of old boots in his hand, as though he was pushing for the shoemaker; when, in fact, he had an empty bottle in each boot, about to be replenished. In the country we constantly see the sly, sneaking

tricks to shun the eyes of their neighbours, resorted to both by those who keep up their old habits of drinking and those who sell the liquor. In those stores in the country in which the contraband article can be had, it is often asked for under some feigned name, as the House of Refuge lads call trousers, "kickers;" watches, "thimbles," &c.

I know that this is a very feeble statement as to the improved state of temperance among us. I have intentionally avoided, as before stated, a large mass of statistical facts that might be added, such, for instance, as that, through the same force of public opinion, there are whole counties in the state of Massachusetts in which not a single license to retail ardent spirits is granted, and so on. If we add to all these considerations the improved health (a fact known to us all), the improved countenances, apparel, food, household comforts, manners, of even the poorest classes of labourers, no man can doubt the beautiful and sublime process of moral reformation which we are undergoing in the United States.

Upon the whole, no attentive observer needs any other proof than he has that a great moral reformation has commenced and is progressing. Still some doubt; and it is certain that in the cities and large villages the progress has been slowest. For this there are many reasons; such as the state of the foreign population, and others too obvious to be mentioned. We have in the large cities the extremes of the very rich and fashionable on the one side, and the poor and degraded on the other, which are the

last (there are beautiful exceptions) to be touched by any new moral sentiment. This temperance reformation is giving to true democracy, to the people, a grander moral triumph than they have ever beheld; and, if carried out by them like men, will be followed by a corresponding political consequence. Moral reformation is the only sure basis for political power in the mass of the people; without it they do not deserve power; without it they will certainly not retain in the United States what they have; nor will any rational man wish that they should; for an ignorant, drinking, depraved people with power is a many-headed monster let loose.

161. No one can have any adequate idea of the importance which the people of England attach to strong beer and ale. Beer is another of the gods worshipped there, and John Barley Corn is certainly one of the greatest men in the United Kingdom. Beer is a very ancient liquor; as early as the fifth century there is this account of it.* "The grain is steeped in water, and made to germinate; it is then dried and ground; after which it is infused in a certain quantity of water, which, being fermented, becomes a pleasant, warming, strengthening, intoxicating liquor."

Hops were not introduced into the manufacture of beer till about the year 1524, when it was said,

"Hops, reformation, bays, and beer,
Came into England all in one year."

* Domestic Life in England, p. 197. London, 1835.

The Anglo Saxons did honour to beer by drinking it out of cups of wood ornamented with gold and bone. They had a peg tankard, introduced by King Edgar, to check *excessive drinking;* of which, from what we saw, there must be very few specimens left in the beer line. This is the story of the tankard: "It had in the inside a row of eight pins, one above another, from top to bottom; the tankard usually held two quarts; so that there was a gill of ale, i. e., half a pint Winchester measure, between each pin. The first person that drank was to empty the tankard to the first peg or pin; the second to the next, &c.; so that the pins were as many measures to the drinkers, making them all drink the same quantity; and as the distance of the pins contained a large draught of liquor, the company would be very liable, by this method, to get intoxicated, especially when, if they drank *short* of the pin or *beyond* it, they were obliged to drink again."

162. From ordinary appearances, you would suppose that all the water in England had been turned into beer. You see it constantly travelling about the streets in London in pint and quart mugs. In the west end, I saw coachmen and footmen, after having got rid of their masters and mistresses, stop at the beer-shops and partake of this enlivening potation, the coachman not leaving his box. The people of England, in regard to beer (1836), seem to be nearly where we were in respect to ardent spirits ten years ago. If you were to tell

them that men here in the ironworks, the forges, the glassworks, and firemen at the steam-engines, are often mere water-drinkers, they would think the story a fable. They verily believe that beer is indispensable; that they cannot work without it; that it is essential to make them *strong*.

163. The English common people drink beer of various degrees of strength. At Highgate, near London, at a village inn, I fell into conversation with a man who was going into London with his cart drawn by three excellent horses; the harness strong, clean, and in perfect order, and the cart newly painted. The common farming utensils in England are kept in such beautiful repair, that it would seem that it was designed that they should never wear out. There is very little poverty on the outside of things in England, and it argues much in favour of the manly pride of the poor people that they are able to keep up a good appearance in the midst of so many trials and difficulties. This man had been drawing hay, and told me that the wages of pitchers and stackers at that time were three and sixpence per day, but no beer. That he drank three pints of porter a day, and generally paid a penny halfpenny a pint. That he did not know any one who did not drink porter, meaning, no doubt, some kind of ale or strong beer.

164. In going from London to the neighbourhood of Windsor, my seat on the coach was next to a woman who told me that she had been a servant in a gentleman's family. I never failed to

avail myself of such an opportunity of conversation, whatever might be thought of the gentility of the thing. She said that she knew Lord ——'s family in town, mentioning a great legal character whose name has long been well known in the United States; that in his town-house he had eleven domestics, one of whom was the butler; that a butler's place in such a house was worth forty-five or fifty guineas a year; that he is at the head of the servants; keeps the plate; cleans it; draws the beer for the servants at dinner and supper; that each, as a general rule, is entitled to a pint twice a day; that she drank a pint at dinner, and another at supper, as regularly as she drank her two cups of tea; that beer "was good for her; that she could not live without it." I beg that the reader will observe that I do not rely upon the exact accuracy of all these statements, nor are they important. In such cases, the story is told to illustrate some main truth, which, in this case, is the beer-drinking habit of the people. By this faith, that beer is a life preserver, the English live, and by this they die.

165. Being desirous of knowing how far she had studied political economy, without, perhaps, knowing the name, I entered into some conversation about the wages of servants, &c. She told me that servants, in respect to their wages, were not as well off as they had been; that there might be a difference of a quarter. It must be remembered that, since the war and the reign of paper money, prices in England *generally* have fallen. Being

desirous of knowing how far she understood Mr. Malthus, I asked her the cause of this fall in wages; upon which she said it was owing to the "popularity" of the people, meaning, doubtless, populousness, or that the people had overbred, and that there were more "guests than plates," according to Mr. Malthus's favourite economy; never for a moment dreaming that the more property servants waste, the less there is to pay them in wages; that servants must, of course, have less wages there in consequence of the seas of beer they drink; nor imagining that the millions they pay in taxation on malt have anything to do with their comforts. If common labourers do not get some common-sense ideas into their heads upon these subjects, they will go on here just as helpless, dependant, and destitute as they have elsewhere.

166. At Bristol I went out upon the great Western Railroad then making in that neighbourhood, and had several conversations with the men. They told me that their average wages were from two shillings and ninepence to three shillings per day; that the price of beer was twopence a pint, and that two quarts a day was a common allowance for a man there; that is, about fifteen cents of our money, or about a quarter of their wages. And what would become of the rich people if they swallowed in sherry, port, Chateau Margaux, Johannesbergh, one quarter of their daily incomes, and lived in other respects in the same proportion!

167. In passing through Staffordshire, a man on

the coach engaged in the coal-trade told me that very few of the coal-men laid up any money; that the contrary was nearly universal; that they drank beer at the price of five or six pence a quart; and that it is thought by many that there is an infusion of tobacco-juice in some of it, to give it an *intoxicating* quality and make it *strong*. Accum states* that beer is adulterated in England by "black extract," &c. The brewer is prohibited by act of parliament from using any other materials besides malt and hops; and still we know that adulteration constantly takes place. Certainly I do not mean to assert that tobacco-juice is put into beer in England.

168. When in Wales I went to see the iron-works at Merthyr Tydvil, which are some of the first in the world. The men here drink excessively, and, from the nature of their occupation, more than most other labourers. Very few, consequently, lay up any part of their wages; they pay fourpence and fivepence a quart for beer, buying at retail, which is the case in everything with wasteful, childish people. One of the overseers told us that some of the men drank little less than a pound worth of beer in a week; the rollers, or a part of them at least, then earning two pounds a week. At what speed might not a poor man go ahead in England, earning ten dollars a week, and practising the prudent, temperate ways of the economical part of the people!

* Accum on Adulteration, p. 140.

It was said at Merthyr when we were there (1836) that the price of iron had advanced from about five pounds in the years 1830 and 1831 to eleven and twelve pounds then; that the Emperor of Russia was getting railroad iron there for a railroad leading from Petersburgh to Moscow; that the Pacha of Egypt had already obtained there the necessary rails for at least one half of a road across the Isthmus of Suez. At Cardiff we saw several American vessels which had come to that port to get Merthyr railroad iron for the United States. Such is the progress of the industrious temperance people; fifteen years ago there was not a foot of railroad in the United States, except about three miles at Quincy, in the State of Massachusetts!

169. *The most remarkable feature in the present times is the elevation of the labouring classes.* Walter Scott, in his "Ivanhoe," presents this picture of a man towards the end of the reign of Richard I., in the West Riding of Yorkshire: "His garment was a close jacket, with sleeves composed of the tanned skin of some animal, on which the hair had been originally left, but which had been worn off in so many places that it was difficult to say to what creature the fur had belonged. Sandals bound with thongs made of boar's hide protected the feet. He had no covering on his head, which was only defended by his own thick hair matted and twisted together. There was a brass ring resembling a dog's collar soldered fast round his neck, so loose

as to form no impediment to his breathing, yet so tight as to be incapable of being removed, except by the use of the file. On this singular gorget was engraved in Saxon characters an inscription of the following purport: 'Gurth, the son of Beowulph, is the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood.'"

Here are the materials for a contrast between the past and the present; this shows what a change has taken place, and no one can believe that the progress of things is to be arrested here. And what constitutes the true elevation of the working classes but their virtues? What surer foundation to build on than *temperance?* It is the moral energy that raises men in the scale of being. The working people form trades' unions and combinations to lessen their hours of toil. All this is well, if well done; but what signify increased wages, if the money which a man earns is spent in those sinks of corruption, dramshops, in riot and debauchery? With many it is a strong argument against high wages that the money is so often squandered; and were this universal, the objection would stand good. Let the working people, then, whenever they combine, as they have a right and ought to do for all worthy purposes, proclaim temperance as their watchword, and mutual respect for each other's virtues as the law of their order. They have a very feeble conception of the extent to which poverty and the unequal distribution of property proceeds from their vices; from excessive

beer-drinking, dram-drinking, gaming, and the belittling of themselves by following the fashions of those who are ten or a hundred times richer than themselves. Kings, lords, commons, tithes, and taxes might soon be brought within the control of a moral people. If they will, however, drink, eat, and wear twice or ten times as much of the proceeds of their labour as they need, why, then, there is an end of so much power for ever; it is letting the lever slip through their hands; a man cannot have his cake and eat it. If one Englishman can economize and lay up, and thus save himself from being turned into the snow-drifts of Canada, so can thousands, and thousands make up millions. It is true that there are a prodigious number of people in England who, with all their efforts, have no surplus; so it is as true that a great number have, or might have. All this surplus may be made a *capital* for those poor people to work with and give them wages who have no capital of their own. A poor man, even with a little property, may help another poor man without giving him alms, and thus making a pauper of him; let those, then, who can lay up, save for the benefit of themselves and the rest.

The property of industrious people does not remain idle like that of many of the rich; there are no splendid palaces, parks, coaches; no game horses, kennels of hounds, services of gorgeous plate to take care of. There might be an increasing ratio in the property of the labouring classes if they

would make it so, which would push them forward at an amazing rate if they could see their own interests.

The greatest reform, then, that can take place, is a *reform* of the people. Monopolies, abuses, privileges, cannot stand before a *reformed* people.

170. Let us look at a few facts and considerations which will show the amount of destruction of property there is in England in the single article of beer, first deducting from the whole amount such portion of the cost as any one shall allow for a prudent, moderate, and healthful use of this beverage. Such a calculation will give the people of the United States some adequate *ideas of their own wasteful destruction.*

171. One of the most beautiful sights in England is the barley standing on the ground just before the harvest. I saw it in various parts in immense quantities, some of the best land being occupied in producing it. A great number of ploughs, drills, horses, and men are employed in bringing to perfection a harvest, not for the purpose of feeding the people who stand so often on the brink of famine, but to afford an intoxicating liquor to stultify their understandings. Let it be understood here that I do not speak as a temperance man, but of excess, of the enormous quantity of beer drank beyond what any man can pretend is salutary to the people.

172. The quantity of malt made into beer in the United Kingdom in the year ending October 10,

1833, was 5,020,599 quarters, which, at 8 bushels to the quarter, is 40,164,792 bushels, yielding a duty in taxation of £5,153,574, equal to about 25 millions of dollars.*

Such statements confirm the almost incredible accounts of the beer drank in England in former times. Hume relates that, at the entertainment given by Leicester to Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle, there were drank 365 hogsheads of beer, or 23,000 gallons. It is stated by M'Nish "that seven English pints are quite a common allowance, and not unfrequently twice that quantity is taken without any perceptible effect; that many of the coal-heavers on the Thames think nothing of drinking two gallons of porter per day, especially in the summer season."

173. Beer is not the only destroyer of morals and property in England; gin comes in for its share. For this they have the high authority of Mr. Burke, who says, "Whether the thunder of the laws or the thunder of eloquence be hurled on gin, always I am thunder proof."

Everybody has heard of the gin-palaces in England; few, however, can have any adequate conception of them. These are fitted up in a style to be as seductive as can be to the unhappy victims that enter them, and in a way to appear as little like common dramshops as possible. They often occupy the best positions at the corners of the streets, and may be known by the splendour, the

* Companion to the Almanac, 1834, 1835.

profusion, and fanciful variety of their gaslights. In the Manchester and Salford Temperance Journal there is this description of some of them: "In the section between Old Gravel Lane and Shadwell New Church, within the space of one hundred and thirty paces, there are seven splendid ginshops recently fitted up in the modern gin-palace style, highly decorated with paint and gilding, and exhibiting in front gigantic lamps with magnificent gaslights. At one, a revolving light, with many burners, playing most beautifully over the door; at another, about fifty or sixty jets in one lantern, throwing out their capricious and fitful, but brilliant gleams, as if from the branches of a shrub."

174. We went into three ginshops on Holborn Hill and in that neighbourhood, which were said to be some of the most showy in London. They were filled with men, women, and children, who generally went in at one door and out at another. None stayed long, as far as we could see; they came in, drank, and went off. We saw none who were not quiet and orderly. A man entered with a woman and little girl, whom we supposed to be his wife and child; the child appeared to be about eight years of age. The man drank, and then the woman, who gave what remained in the glass to the little child. We bought a glass, for which we paid a halfpenny. This was undoubtedly adulterated; it seemed to be sweetened, and certainly had not the flavour of pure gin.

Mr. Bulwer says that, in taking off the duty on

gin, "there commenced a most terrible epoch of natural demoralization," and he quotes the Bishop of London as saying, "When I first came to London, I never saw a female coming out of a gin-shop; I have since repeatedly seen females with infants in their arms, to whom they appear to be giving some part of their liquor." And why should not a bishop (if the bishop meant here was Bishop Porteus, he was one of the best of men) enter the ginshops, and know what these poor women do give to their children? Such are the false ideas of duty which grow up under a false system.

175. Notwithstanding all that is said about the infatuation that reigns in the gin-palaces and the horrible amount of dram-drinking in England, there are certain proofs of an amendment. The superficial opinions picked up in England in every day's conversation, and particularly in London in that class who only know the poor by representation, and who do not go among them, is not to be relied on. In London you may converse with half a dozen people in succession who hardly know that a temperance society exists in England, or, if they do, it is only the name that they are acquainted with. There is now no so great mistake made by those who govern, and by the higher classes, as in underrating the improvement that is going on among the common people.

176. A stranger in England will be cautious in forming his judgments, but it seemed to me that the gin-palaces, frightful as they are in the contrast be-

tween so much splendour and so much misery, must be a decided improvement upon the dramshops, those holes and dens where these unhappy people have been accustomed to congregate, and such as our own cities are filled with. In these palaces everything seems to be exposed to light; what a man does is seen; and besides, it is, I believe, the fashion not to spend time there. But in the cellars and holes, where a few only assemble, they get together for the pleasure of long-protracted drunkenness, which ends in producing in some a brutal stupefaction, and in others in setting on foot all manner of deep-laid plans of wickedness.

England is free of the disgrace, so far as we ever saw or heard, of the common *American bar-room*. In Norfolk we saw a tap-room resembling our vulgar dramshops attached to an inn, in other respects very decent. At one of the best inns in Manchester we saw, after having been some days inmates in the house, without knowing of the existence of such a place, a sort of smoking-room, where gentlemen tiplers, or, at any rate, those who appeared to be gentlemen, were drinking just as our gentlemen tiplers do; it was in the back part of the house, and seemed, from decency, to be as far removed from observation as it could be. But as to our vulgar *American bar-rooms*, usually the most common entrance to our inns, with a bar duly shelved to hold up to view, in the most seductive way possible, bottles of brandy, gin, rum, lemon-peel bitters, whiskey, wine, with all the apparatus

of hot water, sugar, sugar-sticks, lemons, mint, bitters, to make the compounds pungent and agreeable, with the accompaniment of gentlemen, who come to get an appetite for their breakfasts or dinners, perhaps to drown their sorrows, but certainly to send, by their base example, their poorer, less educated, and unfortunate fellow-citizens to the dram-shop; thus destroying their morals, and, of course, the true democratic, republican power; I say, we never saw anything in England resembling this bar-room; whether the tap-room, the smoking-room, or the gin-palace be more vulgar, destructive things, I cannot say.

177. There are conclusive evidences of improvement in England. Stupid as the fashion is, for, with many, it is little better than the fashion, of swallowing ten or twenty times more wine than they believe to be useful, still, with the gentlemen of England as with us, the midnight orgies, the carousals, the full bumpers, with keys turned to prevent any man from going home sober, have greatly disappeared. We were told, also, that there was a great improvement among the farmers; that they tippled far less in going to market, and upon all occasions, than formerly. There never was, and never will be, a moral improvement among the favoured classes that does not descend, sooner or later, to the lower; hence the responsibility of the rich.

178. To form any just idea of the labouring people in England, you must go among them, among their friends, counsellors, and teachers, and espe-

cially in the manufacturing districts. From the latter we never received but one opinion, and that was always in favour of the increasing temperance of the poor people.

Manchester is the greatest manufacturing town in England. In its manufacturing establishments we found some of those very intelligent men of the working class who are capable of giving the best information in regard to the subject. Some of these are overseers, or "overlookers," as they are called there, and those we saw so like in intelligence the same class in our own country, that you would not know them apart. At Roberts and Sharpe's Machine-shop, which employs five hundred men, one of them told us that he was an "overlooker;" that he had been a common labouring man; that the character of the workmen had improved very much; that they did not drink ardent spirits as formerly; that the temperance societies had done a great deal of good, but that these did not generally exclude *beer*, which was a "great loophole" for the escape of temperance. That he himself, however, was not a tee-totaller.

179. At Messrs. Houldsworth's great cotton establishment we saw another of these valuable men. It was said that at this mill finer cotton was spun than in any in Manchester; that a thread was drawn out from a pound of cotton that would reach one hundred and fifty miles. What a minute fibre may serve as the connecting chain of good-will and peace between two great nations! This man told

us that the people drank a great deal, but not so much as formerly; that the Mechanics' Institute in Manchester was a great means of improvement! We knew some of the excellent persons connected with this admirable institution. I have avoided all discussion of the principle of the temperance societies. That they have done great good in the United States is certain; that they will do a great deal in England is equally so. I have a very imperfect knowledge of their condition there.

180. There is a British association for the promotion of temperance upon the total abstinence plan, which was established on the fifteenth day of September, 1835. An account of this association states that there are 47,178 tee-total members. In a temperance paper of the Isle of Man of the fifteenth of April, 1836, it is stated that there were then in England and Wales 139,058 members of temperance societies. This is a small beginning, but small beginnings sometimes make great endings: there are those alive who remember the period when not one twentieth part of this proportion of the people then inhabiting the American colonies were in favour of American independence! At Manchester we found great activity in favour of the temperance cause.

It is a good omen that the most intelligent of the common people of England should so soon have followed the lead of the United States. It was said at Manchester that there were not less than ten or twelve hundred members in that town. The town

of Preston has been a leader in this cause; and in the temperance paper published there have appeared, from time to time, speeches delivered by operatives so full of true common sense, pathos, and eloquence, as to do honour to any public assembly, and such as have never been witnessed in the same class in the United States, so far as I have seen.

This is a good forerunner of what is to be. The work of regeneration among these operatives must be their own work; for who can do so much for another man as he can do for himself? Of one thing we are certain, and that is, the good work does go on; and the people will see, sooner or later, that it is harder for a man to knock off chains of his own forging than those which others have put upon him; that intemperate people are but mean supporters of the true democratic cause. I do not speak here of any *party* cause.

181. Let every man among us, then, take heed to his own ways, and how far he himself is the cause of poverty, of aristocracy, of overgrown riches, of heaping them up in the laps of those who already have too much. If any now have unjust privileges, let him take care how he increases them by his own folly. In part first I have stated that one of the most fruitful causes of the unnatural distribution of property is, that the poor people are for ever emptying their pockets into those of people who are already richer than they should be. No man is bound to spend his money at a dramshop or any other shop where his pocket is picked. Look at

the enormous establishments in every country, such as breweries, gin-palaces, distilleries, and the fashionable money-catching shops that are built up mainly (for I speak of excess) by the vanity, pride, and sensuality of those who complain most of the unequal distribution of property. The common people are the great props of these establishments; the labouring people, from the fact of their superior numbers, are their greatest customers. All this shows that the common people of the United States may do what they will, *if the will be a right one.*

It is not unbecoming to bow down and kiss the very earth that bore such men as Milton, Locke, and Sir Harry Vane; they saw clearly through the ennobling Christian principle of the republican system near two centuries ago, but the people were not intelligent and virtuous enough to follow their leaders; and the consequence is, that they have been grovelling in the dirt ever since. Privileges, monopolies, abuses, have hung about their necks like a millstone, which they have not had character and sense enough to get rid of.

182. The breweries of London are among the great sights of it. We went to Barclay's, said to be one of the greatest. I wish it were in my power to give an account of the enormous masses of hops and malt, the immense extent of the buildings and stables, of the vast processes and ingenious contrivances which are here in motion to keep down the common people, to destroy their property, and stupify their minds. Let it be remembered that I

do not enter into the question of total abstinence, and only speak of superfluous destruction, of suicide. In this brewery we were told that there were a hundred and twenty-eight vats, of which six contain three thousand three hundred barrels; four, two thousand seven hundred barrels; that the residue were of different sizes. That from two to three hundred men are employed, and one hundred and thirty-six horses. In one vat, that was reeking with steam, we saw three men throwing out the mash naked to their waists, the perspiration running in streams from them. In the stables we saw thirty or forty horses.

This is the Lincolnshire horse; and he is, to be sure, a curious animal, as fat as a hog can be made; his flesh stands in folds, and rolls upon his ribs; and they say in London that, when he falls, he can never rise again. This is not quite true, for I saw one instance of a resurrection myself; but the fall was horrible; it seemed as though an elephant had come down, not by degrees, but by one awful sprawl. This fancy hog-horse is, of course, kept mainly at the expense of the common people, for they, numbers being on their side, drink twenty glasses of Barclay's beer to one drank by the gentry.

When Thrale's great brewery was put up at auction, Doctor Johnson, who was an executor, amused himself by appearing for a moment in the character of an auctioneer, and cried out, "We are not here to sell a parcel of vats and boilers, but the potentiality